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ABSTRACT

This book investigates the forces shaping the development of education systems in Bosnia and the impact those historical forces may, or may not, have on the condition of secondary education in Bosnia today. Initial chapters offer historical background about educational development in the Balkans and in Bosnia. The volume outlines the accumulative effect of the previous centuries through a survey of the faculty and students in Sarajevo city secondary schools. The survey is driven by hypotheses with origins embedded in the historical evidence. It concludes with thoughts and recommendations about the future development of education in Bosnia and its sister nations in Europe. This publication examines the development of education in Bosnia as a system. It focuses on the impact of language, religion, and control mechanisms on the education process of the region. The historical forces shaping Bosnian education are described with particular attention devoted to the Austro-Hungarian and Communist periods. The development of the military systems of the country is told in detail. The book provides information to help understand the other countries of the Balkans: Croatia, Rumania, Serbia, and Bulgaria. (Contains 251 endnotes and a reference list of 43 books and 86 journals/periodicals/reports). (BT)

Education in Bosnia: Religion, Language, and Control.

Richard Douglas McCreight

New Forums Press, Inc.

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НОВА НАУКА О ЈАВНОЈ НАСТАВИ

НАН

ОМЛАДИНСКИ И НАРОДНИ ДОБРОТВОР

ШТУДИЈА ЗА НАСТАВНИКЕ И ДРЖАВНИКЕ,
НАРОД И ОМЛАДИНУ.

EDUCATION in BOSNIA Religion, Language, and Control

Написао
ВАСА ПЕЛАГИЋ



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Education in Bosnia:

Language, Religion and Control

By

Richard Douglas McCreight



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Preface

Bosnia is a beautiful country with very handsome people. I lived and worked among the Bosnians, be they also a Bosniak, Croatian or Serb, for over three years. In that process I learned about their culture, its roots and development over the last millennia. In my work I was principally involved with the formation and development of a military education system for their fledgling army. This new system was to be based on the NATO model to replace the system that ended with the opening shots of the civil war that ruptured ex-Yugoslavia. But I also encountered, on a daily basis, other (non-military) foreigners working in Bosnia, trying to assist her in development of systems that would incite local control, initiative-taking, and a more harmonious approach to progress in the people. My official and unofficial conversations with these other foreigners, often called Non-Governmental Organizations and Private Voluntary Organizations (NGO/PVO), revealed to me that they too wondered just how did these people come to be the way they were. I did too.

During my work (and that of the hundreds of NGO/PVO in the country) it was impossible to remain naive to the ethno-linguistic currents underlying all aspects of life in the region, let alone in the education system. These currents influenced almost everything we did on a daily basis, including (at least from a western perspective) innocuous matters such as what word variant (Bosniak or Croat?) would be used to express an idea, when prior to the civil war,

a single Serbo-Croat word was sufficient. These daily adventures drove me to find out why such mundane matters were such emotional issues with a people ostensibly speaking, for a long time, the same language - Serbo-Croatian.

For example, one day my wife and I were walking toward our small apartment in Sarajevo, and a Bosnian friend who spoke English was with us. As we passed an elderly couple I said hello to them using the Serbo-Croatian dialect I had learned from the first days in the country. The elderly couple responded politely and both parties continued on their way. The woman then said something to the man. Our friend, overhearing the exchange, said us that the woman had told the man that we (the Americans) had spent entirely too much time around Croats. The words for saying "Good Day" are exactly the same in the Serbian language as they are in the Croatian language. So how did this old woman know I had been amongst Croatian-Bosnians for the last seven months? And why was my rude and untutored dialect so important to her?

Those questions, coupled with my previous work in education systems in America, drove me to take on this study. I thought to research and report on all the factors influencing the development of education in Bosnia but soon distilled the focus to what appears to be the three forces that most often impacted upon educational development - religion, language and control.

Acknowledgements

First, and foremost, I must acknowledge Dr. John Mellon, Professor at Central Connecticut State University, my mentor and guide through the process of research that led to this book. Even though communicating over thousands of miles he always managed to be there when I needed him to provide the right guidance and counsel for this project.

Secondly, I must acknowledge Miss Silvoja Ivačić. She was the translator for all of the primary source material from the very an-

cient Austrian script I found in the Sarajevo Archives to current day documents written in Bosniak/Croatian. She also interpreted for me with the many personalities involved in Bosnian education today - with all the challenges and risks involved in those communications.

Thirdly, but not lastly, to my devoted wife who proofread all these pages offering her sage and critical advice on syntax and grammar; hers, as always, a labor of love.

Chapter 1

Introduction

This book investigates the forces shaping the development of education systems in Bosnia and the impact those historical forces may, or may not, have on the condition of current secondary education in Bosnia today. The initial chapters lay the historical groundwork of educational development in the Balkans in general and Bosnia specifically. The accumulative effect of the previous centuries is then captured in a survey of the faculty and students in Sarajevo city secondary schools. The survey is driven by several hypotheses whose origins are imbedded in the historical evidence. The work concludes with thoughts and recommendations about the future development of education in Bosnia, and, again to some degree, the sister nations in Eastern Europe.

Of the many forces at work on the development of education systems within any society, the three that emerge as having some significant influence on that process in Bosnia (and the rest of the Balkans) are language, religion, and control of schools. While not discounting the effect of other forces on educational development such as economic planning, infrastructure, and governmental influence via tax levies, this book does not develop these other dynamics. This work focuses principally on language, religion and control of schools.

It also might appear incongruous to shift gears from a largely socio-historical prelude covering ten centuries into a chapter devoted to current educational affairs that uses hypotheses and survey work. I found no easier way to gain insight into the personal perceptions of Bosnians about their education (and the impact of the previous systems) than with a survey. The people of Bosnia are generally suspicious,

not surprisingly, of anybody writing anything down. But if provided an avenue to express their opinion in an anonymous way, they will. Therefore the chapter dealing with current secondary educational affairs transitions the reader from a historical view to a "today" view using the hypotheses-survey method to try and establish some accurate basis for what's happening today in the Bosnian system.

With that idea in mind, and while gathering basic research material to begin this effort, I found out quickly that there was apparently not a large body of work in English that looked at the development of education in Bosnia (and the Balkans) and then connected that development with the region's current and future educational challenges. In other words there did not appear to be any work that described *why* the people of the culture are educated the way they are. So I decided to write the book that would do so.

The future of Bosnian education cannot be properly planned without an understanding of how and why the system developed the way it did and why the current actors who run it act the way they do. Bosnians seek eventual political membership in the European Union and their military in the community of NATO armies and the Partnership for Peace. The leadership of the country, and *not* just the educators, must be willing to compromise on issues affecting the progress of the country toward these goals.

Reluctance to compromise, at the expense of holding power, while certainly not unique to Balkan countries, is *certainly* a predominant character of the leadership there. Therefore, anything that contributes to an increase in the willingness to compromise will be

better for the people, in the long term, than continuing practices and methods that inhibit it. There are certain social attributes that contribute to such a harmonious approach to compromise. They are, among many others, open communication in a *common* language, *subordination* of religious motives to the rule of law applicable to all, and a reasonable amount of *local* control over issues, especially educational ones. This book examines the origins of the culture's current challenges in these three areas and offers recommendations for adjusting to these issues in the future.

Revealing the impact of the forces of language, religion, and school control on the education systems of Bosnia (and similar Balkan countries) will provide a basis for rational discourse about the future of those systems and their proper priorities and directions, and will influence the general well-being of the Bosnian people. Most often, given the nature of over a

thousand years of cultural molding, the three principal groups seeking power in the region were best known for a *lack* of rational discourse that ignored the general well-being of all the people. In this book, the author hopes to contribute to a dialogue based on rational discussion that starts with a basis in open truth, not the clouds of passionate ethnocentrism.

Progress is inevitable for Bosnia as it emerges from the influences of the past into a new future in the 21st century. Education will be a significant contributor to that progress if the leadership can achieve a spirit of open communication that fosters cooperation and harmony of direction. The current challenges in language, religious influence, and control of educational systems can be traced to the impact of early interaction between the military forces of medieval western kings and the Bosnian people.

Chapter 2

The Developing Centuries

In the Ottoman days Bosnian Muslims called themselves either *Turci*, as opposed to *Turkuse* (Anatolian Turks) or *Bošnjaci* (Bosnians). They referred to their language as *Bošnjački* (Bosniak) and wrote it in Arabic script or in *Bosančica* (the Bosnian or Croatian recension of Cyrillic script). The latter were also used by Bosnian Franciscans, who were the real guardians of Bosnian state traditions under the Turks.¹

Education always has been and will continue to remain a complex subject in the Balkans. Today certain college-educated Bosnians still refuse to accept that a language called Bosniak has ever existed, regardless that it was the Muslims who used it since the Ottoman occupation. These same, allegedly well-educated, Bosnians would be even more horrified if they were told that Catholic Franciscan monks used Bosniak in their work. And this ignorance is not likely to subside any time soon.

The development of religious and secular education systems in Bosnia has been difficult and tedious, *significantly* affecting the spirit of cooperation and harmony of this region. This chapter provides a brief and broad historical overview of three interconnected aspects of the development of education in the Balkans and Bosnia: language, religion, and control of education. While a broad look, there are some details about Bosnia and her neighbors that serve to highlight significant people and events in the thousand years of clerical effort to make education a reality in the Balkans. This chapter is *not* meant to be a detailed examination of all the forces at work affecting education in south-eastern Europe over the second millennia. The Balkans are just too complex a place for that.

Education in the Balkans was born in the monasteries and mosques of the three religions that dominate this region. Whether Catholic, Orthodox Christian, or Muslim the origin and development of education is also inextricably linked to language. Neither religion nor language can, or should, be separated when trying to gain any coherent understanding of how education started, what is happening now, and what the future of education might hold for the people of the Balkans and Bosnia. Over time each confession developed its own schools, welfare systems, courts and other civic structures that gave them an inherent sense of autonomy and personal control over education. This autonomous growth would have a significant affect upon the scope, content, and structure of the formal education systems in the region.²

This chapter describes, in broad terms, the evolution of these faith-based education systems starting with the efforts of Europe's first education king -- Charlemagne in the ninth century. The Orthodox influence is reviewed, beginning with Methodius and Cyril in the eleventh century. The Muslim effect, starting with their final occupation of the region in the fifteenth century, is analyzed. Within each confession the language difficulties will be addressed, and to some degree how these difficulties affected the other two religions and the peoples of the region. The issue of control is also integrated throughout. One of the methods of control used by education systems is to control curriculum and courses. This work illustrates in graphic form the development of curriculum and courses, over time, to show the changing nature of this aspect of control.

But language would be only the first among these three tensions affecting the ability to communicate effectively within and among the people of Bosnia. After a person's appearance gave away some hint of his or her status and origin and set into motion assessments of that person's worth by the observer, the next hint came from the first words the person spoke. The observer immediately adjusted his assessment of the person's worth by the nature and structure of those words. Vital to this social process is whether or not either of the parties really could (or wanted to) *understand* each other. Two nineteenth century first-person observers would remark that:

The Slavonic Mussulman (Muslim) says his prayers in Arabic, which he neither speaks nor comprehends; part of the Catholics pray in Latin, a language not understood by the people; some Bulgarian congregations are still constrained to attend services in Greek; but the bulk of the South Slavonic Christians are distinguished alike in the Eastern and Western Church by using for their Scriptures and liturgy an ancient dialect of the Slavonic tongue.³

Since this chapter deals with languages and their effect on education, I will educate the reader with a note for pronunciation of Bosnian and other words which might not be understood. The Serbo-Croatian language uses a "what-you-see-is-what-you-say" alphabet. Each letter sounds the same regardless of placement in the word, context, (as opposed to the convoluted rules that plague English speakers). Therefore, where it is important for the reader to know the correct pronunciation of words I will include a phonetical spelling in parenthesis following that word.

Geographical Influences in Bosnia

A geographical orientation to the Balkans is also required before the reader can truly appreciate the complexity of the growth of edu-

cation in Bosnia. The division of Bosnia into three main ethno-linguistic and religious regions goes back many centuries. But suffice to say, for simplicity, these divisions remain today as evidenced by the divisions making up the current-day Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (RBiH). There is a double-double division of the state known as Bosnia that is confusing to the uninitiated. A glance at the map in the appendix might help before this review begins.

The RBiH contains two parts; the Republika Srpska (RS) that is under the control of the Bosnian Serbs. They have a certain loyalty to Serbia to the east. The other part of the Republic is the Federation of Bosnia Herzegovina (FBiH) that is a completely autonomous political entity (and separate from the RS) within the RBiH. The FBiH *also* has two parts. Within the FBiH are areas occupied by Bosnian Croats (with a certain loyalty to Croatia to the northwest) and Bosniaks (with a certain loyalty to Turkey and other Islamic states to the east) with each enjoying a certain amount of legal (and illegal) control and autonomy within their respective areas. Serbs are not a significant part of the population in the FBiH.

The religious affiliations of each group are likewise connected to their political ones. Serbs are predominantly Orthodox Christian. Bosnian Croats living in their own enclaves making up about half of the FBiH are predominantly Catholic. The Bosniaks, predominantly Muslim, live in their own enclaves in the other half of the FBiH. There is one additional geographical discriminator that is important to realize. Roughly anywhere in central or northern Bosnia is called Bosna i Hercegovina (Bosnia and Herzegovina) - meaning *primarily* the Serb and Bosniak regions. Croatian enclaves exist in these regions. However, southern and western Bosnia is an area historically (and now) claimed by the Bosnian Croats, called by them Herzeg-Bosna. The Bosnian Croats call it that even though it is part of Bosnia and Herzegovina. These complex geographical divisions, and ongoing efforts to sustain them in a political arena devoted to their *elimination*, serve to perpetuate the social divisions that inhibit integration and,

to some degree, will also affect the future of educational development in the Balkans. With that geographical orientation complete it is time to see how education first started in this region long ago.

Charlemagne Arrives

When Charlemagne marched east in the ninth century these divisions did not exist. He marched to the border territories of his Frankish kingdom to achieve his goals of conquest and territorial consolidation. His armies conquered the strong and the weak, establishing a regional hegemony that would last for many centuries. Accompanying his army were Frankish missionaries whose primary task was to convert the heathens of Bosnia to the true faith. The missionaries found a region void of any education system of any kind. There were two significant reasons why education had not developed in the region.

First, the people of Bosnia had no motive for spending time in school. Agrarian by nature and isolated by a geography, which compartmentalizes everything, there was no need for education. The people were perfectly happy on their small farms and plots - and they remain so today. Except for a very few places⁴, their farms were never very big, geography again confining them to the rich, arable, but generally narrow valleys between steep mountains. No man's farm was ever larger than a few hundred acres at best. They made all their own implements and crafts so needed no outsider to teach them anything.⁵ Secondly, the people were so remote that it was extremely difficult for them to be reached except by only the hardest of travelers - including itinerant teachers. Into this rugged, often inhospitable, but beautiful region came the Frankish monks with Charlemagne's army. The friars built monasteries in the frontier regions subdued by Charlemagne that became the centers of learning for the missionaries and their candidates to the priesthood.

Monastic Schools

Dedicated to clerical learning, there was apparently not any specific objective in this building process to teach the common people. But the Catholic Church required literate priests to read and preach the Word to the illiterate so it was vital that each newly occupied region be able to sustain a simple monastic education system to ensure basic clerical literacy. These monasteries served a vital purpose in creating skilled writers who could copy religious texts for the priests and candidates. From these books they served their illiterate flocks and continued the development of the literacy of their cadre. The most common name for the actual learning place inside the monastery was the cell school. The name "cell" comes from the small cramped spaces typical of medieval stone abbeys. Even though small and cramped, it was normal that the cells in the *Scriptorium*, where copying and writing occurred, were on the north face of the monastery because that face got the most sun, providing additional warmth for the writers. It would be self-defeating to have the steady hand of the copyist or writer shaking from the cold. But it was also in this part of the monastery that the priest would teach their students the alphabet, the vocabulary and syntax of the Latin language. A brief look at the scope of education in Hungarian monastic schools, just to the north of the Balkans is illuminating. Even though not an actual part of the Balkans, the nature of learning in the Hungarian schools certainly must have had significant parallels in Balkan monasteries.

(Monastic school) students were educated not only in everyday monastic life and missionary and pastoral activities, but they also received a high level of scientific education which met the requirements of both church and state.

...the first Hungarian school where education was certainly carried out in Latin played an important role in providing the administrative functions of the Hungarian State founded in 1000....

...monastery schools
disseminated the most developed methods
and technologies utilized in agriculture
and handicrafts.

From the early eleventh century,
besides the widespread network of mon-
astery schools, chapter schools were also
founded....⁶

It is from these very humble beginnings,
similar to the Hungarian experience, that the
Catholic component of education in Bosnia
would emerge.

These monastic centers of learning grew
and expanded over the next several centuries.
There is some disagreement about the level of
Christian clerical education levels reached by
the twelfth century. Having several centuries to
work at their teaching tasks, it is easy to imag-
ine the priests of the Balkans being better
speakers and writers than the common people
they served. Preaching generally requires a
fairly well trained voice and command of lan-
guage. The priests were the only ones involved
in education of any sort. Therefore, relatively
speaking, it would also seem natural that these
priests could be considered well educated.

Balkan history is alive with incidents
where the local populace is guided, and some-
times incited, to protest or rebel against the op-
pression of the ruling powers simply because
the clerics could clearly communicate the goals
of the proposed action to the people. Andros
Riedlmayer says, however, that when Bosnia
won independence in the twelfth century she
was a Christian state with three churches:
Catholic, Eastern Orthodox, and the schismatic
Bosnian Church and "all three churches were
organizationally weak (in Bosnia) and their
clergy largely uneducated...."⁷ What Riedlmayer
does not tell us is why he thinks they were
largely uneducated, especially when compared to
the populace they served. If Riedlmayer was
comparing the twelfth century cleric in the Bal-
kans to those in Rome, Constantinople or
Medina his point may be well made but largely
out of educational context.

The Catholic Language of Religion

While the skill and educational level of
Bosnian priests may be debatable, there does
not appear to be any significant disagreement
over the use and study of the Latin language in
Bosnian education. The missionary priests,
whatever their apparent level of education,
brought Latin into the country using it as a
primary tool in their education work. Latin has
survived the ideological, political, and spiritual
struggles of the ensuing thousand years and re-
mains today a central component of the modern
Bosnian educational system. Throughout most
of these centuries Latin has remained relatively
free from attack by the forces seeking to cloak
their nationalist logic in the mantle of their
mother tongue. The same would not hold true
for the languages of the other two principal
confessions of this region: Slavic for the Ortho-
dox and initially Arabic, later Bosniak, for the
Muslim. But for the Catholics, teaching and
writing in Latin, the language of their religion,
would not often become a politically significant
issue.

By the middle of the fourteenth century
there would, however, occur a significant event
to create a long-lasting Catholic educational in-
fluence in Bosnia. In 1342 the political leader
of Bosnia, one Ban Stjepan Kotromanić, reintro-
duced the Franciscan Order to central Bosnia.
He gave permission to begin a mission in cen-
tral Bosnia, which enabled them to create a vi-
cariate in the region. In the short space of 120
years the Franciscans would build 16 convents
across Bosnia before the Turkish occupation
began in 1463.⁸ During the Ottoman Empire's
400 years of occupation the Franciscans would
sustain their embryonic education system across
Bosnia. During a 1998 seminar on Bosnian
education, Father Luka Markešić of the Francis-
can Monastery of St. Anthony in Sarajevo, said:

"...under Ottoman Rule (Catho-
lics) had their own monastic schools; per-
haps the earliest private schools in Bosnia.

These were schools of a closed character, in which methods of education and learning reflected the needs of the Catholic confessional community. Religious instruction was not the most important subject. What was involved was a general education, starting with literacy. People were taught how to read and write, some history perhaps, and all that was imbued with a religious spirit as was customary in the Middle Ages.⁹

The Bosnian Franciscans were adept at maintaining the linguistic demands of this multilingual region as they were at building schools. After the Turkish occupation, Muhamed the II issued an edict in 1463 that gave the Franciscans privileges to preach, teach, and write for the Catholic population of Bosnia. They used several languages in their works written in this period: Bosniak, Slavik or Illyrian, and, of course, Latin.¹⁰ Monastic schools were not alone in spreading education by the Latin word of the Catholic faith. By the seventeenth century they were being assisted by Catholic writers of the eastern European regions who created theological handbooks for the clergy, missals used in celebrating the Mass, and readings specifically for the people. These Catholic writers took the writings of the Bosnian Franciscans and used them in instruction for the people. Publishing increased in the eighteenth century and well into the nineteenth. Simultaneous with this growth in a literate Catholic population was the continued building of Franciscan schools.¹¹

The first formal Franciscan school opened in 1850 in a village in north-central Bosnia not far from the banks of the Sava River. Situated in Tolisa, essentially a suburb of Orašje (ohrashya), the school enrolled both boys and girls of the parish.¹² The Franciscans also opened a girls school in Mostar in 1872, surely one of the first of its kind in the region.¹³ The new Turkish tolerance in southern Bosnia for Christian schools may have arisen because the Moslem leadership found it easier to expand the privileges for Christian schools than to have to continue to put down Catholic revolts in the Herzegovina region. In the decade 1852-1862,

the unrest over educational growth and a major revolt in Herzegovina caused the *ulema* to grant permission for the open running of Christian schools and the building of new churches there.¹⁴

Catholic education experienced a short period of uninhibited expansion during the 40 years of the Austro-Hungarian occupation from 1878 to 1918. But when the Austrians arrived in 1878 they found not insignificant progress in development of Catholic schools in Bosnia. Across the region were 54 Catholic schools with about 1,643 boys and 652 girls.¹⁵ Unfettered from Turkish controls, monasteries and schools were either moved or created in this period of ecclesiastical freedom. The Bosnian Franciscan Theological School, originally built in 1851 in Fojnica (foynneetsa) and Kreševo (kreshevo) was moved to Livno (leevno) in 1905, then to Sarajevo in 1909. Their Theological School in Mostar was founded in 1895. The Sarajevo Diocesan Theological School was opened in 1890. All these institutions were modeled on western European monastic schools of that era.¹⁶ Luj Paten, the French Consul to Sarajevo during the Austro-Hungarian period allowed that the Franciscans taught in a similar fashion of French schools.¹⁷

If the Franciscans were to enjoy an educational lift in this period, so did the Jesuits. To strengthen the Catholic influence in the region, both spiritually and academically, the Church brought the Jesuits into the region, including Albania. The Holy See thought to inject a more spirited proselytizing force into the Balkans since they suspected the Franciscans might have grown a little too close to the Orthodox Serbs in their 500 years of joint efforts in Christianizing the Bosnians.¹⁸

Catholic Educational Growth in Sister States

In order to keep the growth of Catholic education in Bosnia in perspective a short journey to see what happened in two neighboring

states is worthwhile. The Catholic experiences in Slovenia to the northwest and Albania to the southwest are useful since these states were under pressure from different forces, geographically, politically, spiritually and, as always, linguistically. First Albania, which is typical of the more rugged states of the Balkans. The ability of missionaries to influence the population through education was always very hard in rural regions, especially in "...striving to arrest tribal attitudes present in the rugged hinterlands."¹⁹ The Franciscans established an educational bridgehead in Pdhane, opening a school there around 1638. In only six short years the friars had written and published the first Italian-Albanian dictionary. The Jesuits arrived 200 years later to open a seminary in Shkoder in 1859 and the College of St. Francis Xavier in 1877, both institutions teaching the Albanian language. The Jesuits published the first book of any kind in the Albanian language and two Albanian language magazines, all with Church doctrinal themes. After the First World War the Catholic educational influence was suppressed for a short while but re-emerged when Italian financing for Albanian development was cut off. The Jesuits opened an orphanage, apostolic preparatory school, alumni association and a cathedral in the inter-war years. Though far fewer in numbers than their Orthodox and Muslim competition for the souls of the Albanian, their more powerful ecclesiastical structure and broad impact on the language, especially as developed in their educational programs, served to significantly develop the Albanian culture.²⁰

The Slovenians however, under pressure from the western European states, were to endure a rough cycle of language and education conflicts from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries. As a result of the Catholic Restoration movement beginning in the seventeenth century, Slovenian elementary schools in cities were closed and Slovenian language instruction occurred only in rural elementary schools. Secondary school education was not allowed for the students of these rural schools. The Capuchin friars, however, were active in Slovenia, producing much of the literature, albeit Catholic

doctrine, of the time in the Slovenian language. Janez Svetokriški, a Capuchin friar, wrote five volumes of sermons. As with the Jesuits in Albania, the friars attempted to create a German-Slovene dictionary, entrusting this task to Friar Vodnik. This friar, also a well-known poet, moved to Ljubljana (loobleeyanna) to write the dictionary but never finished it. So many languages were promoted in the Slovenian system that one wonders if anyone ever mastered a single one, let alone all four. Slovene and German were taught and spoken in the towns. A Carniolan (a region in present day Slovenia) dialect was taught in the first year of elementary school, then replaced by German. By the fourth year Latin was the language of instruction and Greek was required in the high schools or as they are known in this region - the *gimnazium* (geemnazium). By the mid-eighteenth century, the French reintroduced the Slovenian language into the school system, both at the elementary and secondary level. This change lasted only for four short years. The Austrians, in control after 1813, restored German as the principal language. The tumult of language tasks confronting the Slovenians over these two centuries certainly makes it even more remarkable that they made the progress that they did.

But the initial stages of educational development in Bosnia began with the Catholic presence, emphasizing Latin as the principal language of instruction. This presence would feel the first pressure against it from their Orthodox bretheren.

The Orthodox Penetrate the Balkans

At the same time Charlemagne's Frankish friars were penetrating the rough terrain of the western Balkans, Orthodox Christian missionaries were doing the same from the east. In 862, Prince Rastislav of Moravia, fearful of becoming a vassal of the Franks if he accepted Catholic missionaries into his kingdom, asked Constantinople for Orthodox missionaries to

come to Moravia. Some time near 863 two brothers, St. Cyril²¹ and St. Methodius, embarked for Moravia to begin their mission of teaching and proselytizing. Fluent in the Slavic dialects spoken in Thessalonika, they included a large number of Greek words and grammar in their own translation work of Holy Scripture into the Slavonic language. What they wrote is called Old Church Slavonic and is the precursor to the Cyrillic alphabet used today by the Serbian people.

St. Cyril and Methodius are unique in the annals of Christian history. Apparently long before the Catholic Church approved use of the vernacular²² in churches worldwide, Cyril and Methodius convinced the Pope to allow them to write, translate and preach in the vernacular of Old Church Slavonic to the Slav-speaking people of the Balkans. The Catholic Church would take another 1,000 years to make this logical leap in. This watershed event certainly must have been extremely beneficial for the Balkan people in comprehension not only of their priest's sermons and preaching but also must have served as an impetus to secular education too. St. Clement is said to have established a religious education center in Macedonia on Lake Ohrid where the writing of translations similar to those undertaken by Cyril and Methodios and other original writing took place.

The language issue concerning Old Church Slavonic, however, would not die easily. After Methodius died, the Holy See, in the early tenth century, condemned the Orthodox missionary work in creating the Old Church Slavonic language, declaring there were only three holy languages: Greek, Latin, and Hebrew. Even though ejected from Moravia, Old Church Slavonic would become the language of the Orthodox Church in Bulgaria, Serbia and Russia. Use of Old Church Slavonic in the churches and education systems by Balkan priests would not be an issue just with the Holy See.

In the early eleventh century the Byzantines had annexed Bulgaria and Macedonia and could no longer tolerate the use of Old Church Slavonic in a region where they wanted the Greek language to predominate. Archbishop

Theophylact of Ohrid closed the Slavonic schools and replaced the study of Old Church Slavonic with Greek. He ordered translations of locally written Slavonic documents into Greek. This process of Hellenization would proceed apace for another two centuries until the Turks arrived in the region.²³

As with the Catholic missionaries to the west, Orthodox missionaries began to penetrate the tough terrain of the Balkans converting and teaching as they went. They too built monasteries, primarily for teaching seminarians, and the wealthier ones also built up extensive libraries of Greek texts translated into Slavonic. Saint Sava would be of particular importance in these translation efforts. Concurrent with the expansion of the Orthodox territories to the west and south during the thirteenth century he would promote literacy and education for the common people and would earn a popular epithet as the Illuminator (Enlightener) of the Serbs.²⁴

Growth of Secondary Education

Over time education in some monastery and church schools began to advance beyond elementary reading and writing. In some places a type of secondary education took root. Laymen were taught in these places and could earn the title of "gramatik" after completion of their studies in this embryonic secondary system.²⁵ People could study with the priests or, by this time, private lay tutors. There was no apparent curriculum or even a calendar to organize education days. It seems that most Orthodox driven education, like the fledgling Catholic system, focussed on reading and writing based on church doctrinal texts. How long one might study and to what depth were probably arranged between student and tutor, much as was done in Western Europe at the time. Religious and business requirements drove one part of the basic courses of study. If the student thought to become a copyist for translation of sacred texts, he might study to acquire a "good hand" suit-

able for the careful and exacting scribing of religious text. If, however, the student sought to become a scribe for a businessman or a lawyer, he would learn the "fast hand" method, which allowed for writing in the language of trade and the law. Balkan towns on the Adriatic Coast had greater demands for education than the interior ones, driven by their energetic trade with the countries of the Mediterranean.²⁶

This growth in trade and education would not stop entirely with the arrival of the Turks - but almost. The Turks exercised a certain amount of enlightened benevolence concerning the Orthodox monasteries, having a reluctance to destroy the churches and icons of another faith. In the monasteries that survived the initial Ottoman incursions the educational heritage of the Bulgarian Orthodox faithful was sustained.²⁷ The clerics continued their writing also, producing the first books in the Slavic language, apparently in present-day Croatia, that were taken to Venice for printing in 1483. The first Cyrillic book, a liturgical work called an *Oktoikh*, was printed in Montenegro about eleven years later in 1494 using Old Church Slavonic.²⁸

By the sixteenth century, as the Ottoman system of governing began to weigh upon the Orthodox clerics and their followers, the "...Church became not only a religious but also a cultural and political centre" (sic). It represented people before the authorities and provided at least some communications with the outside world "...contributing greatly to...maintaining literacy...."²⁹ The Greek Orthodox missionaries in Albania continued to build schools, especially one Kosmos Clitolos, who was instrumental in founding 200 Greek schools there. The secondary school built in Voskopje in 1744 was thought to be as good as any secondary school in Greece.³⁰ Even with this seemingly positive movement in education, as with the Catholic friars to the west, the actual level of education and literacy of the Orthodox priests apparently was significantly inconsistent across the Balkans.

Whether in Greece or in Serbia, the literacy level among Orthodox clergy fluctuated

dramatically, probably based on the relative wealth of the parish they served. Those with rich benefactors, able to afford the cost of reproduction and the materials involved, undoubtedly had better educated priests than the rural and remote churches. The Greek clerics suffered significant setbacks during the Ottoman period in some places, as Riedlmayer again asserts, to the point "...that most parish clergymen were practically illiterates."³¹ In Serbia it was probably not much better, again probably based on the relative wealth of the parish.

By the late eighteenth century several Serbian lay writers began to question the wisdom of rigid adherence to the Orthodox priests and the Old Church Slavonic, especially in trying to maintain, let alone increase, the general literacy level of the common people. Dositej Obradović "...was especially repulsed by the ignorance of the (Orthodox) monks....and wanted to combat the influence of the monasteries by teaching modern methods...." to the Serbian people.³² Undoubtedly some of the frustration with the clerics of the Balkans stemmed from the growing demand for literate workers in the growing commerce of the eighteenth century. But for Obradović, who started his adult life as a monk, his goal was to develop a modern Serbian language. He wrote books, translated others, and also developed grammars and dictionaries.³³ Another writer in this period, Sava Mrkalj, wrote essays in the early nineteenth century seeking to simplify the Slavonic alphabet by taking out duplicate letters and unpronounced letters. The Serbian Orthodox clergy became very critical of his writing, especially the part about leaving out letters since it would dilute the historical orthographical authenticity of the Old Church Slavonic.³⁴ This conflict between clerics, adamant in the protection of their language of preaching and education and the rising, secular, professional educator, committed to modernizing (read diluting clerical influence both in language and system development) education would be present, to one degree or another, in the cultures of all three ethno-religious-linguistic groups - Catholics, Orthodox, and Muslim.

In the face of these emerging language problems and Ottoman dominance, the Orthodox impetus to sustain, if not expand, their education base and control over their own systems managed to survive. For the common people education remained rudimentary and humble. In the nineteenth century two Englishwomen scoured the rugged terrain of the Balkans visiting the rural Orthodox schools making assessments for potential future aid from their organization. The dual nature of rural Orthodox schools becomes clear in their vivid description.

Approaching the school our ears were saluted by a not inharmonious burst of children's voices singing 'welcome'; but when we reached the door we saw that the poor little choristers looked very miserable and ill. The atmosphere of the school was certainly not bracing.... At the far end of the school we perceived a row of holy pictures with lighted lamps hanging in them, and we were told this room was also used for a church. Hence the sickly after-smell of incense (worse than that of tobacco) mingled with the unhealthy closeness of the air. we looked over the books, which were all from Belgrade. Meanwhile the school-master released the poor children who had been called together out of hours for us to see.³⁵

The women also observed the differences between girls and boys schools and also were surprised to be advised in a candid, but realistic, way about the ability of the teachers. In another town they reported their observations.

The first visit was to the sub-boy's (primary) school which we found small and low, but well-filled with children. They received us singing at the top of their voices (which they quickly asked the schoolmaster to stop - it hurt their ears) ... The books were, as usual, from Belgrade, but ...they lacked maps.... Katerina's (girls') school proved still humbler than that of the boys.... Twenty-seven little girls could read Serbian and Slavonic, and write a little. Quoth

Katerina, 'That is all we can teach them, for it is all we know ourselves, but those who can read have it in their power to learn more.' She was glad to have a supply of books, for they had none, but those first sent by the Russian traveler, Hilferding.³⁶

Beyond the rude, one-room schools of the rural Balkans there were two significant centers of clerical learning for the Eastern Orthodox scholars of the mid-nineteenth century. The monastery of Zitmoslići near Mostar and the religious academy in Banja Luka.³⁷ But the Orthodox clerics had been hard at work with the development of their own education system aimed at the people. The Austrians found 56 Orthodox Christian schools when they arrived in 1878 with almost 3,000 boys and over 700 girls attending these schools.³⁸

The Muslims Advance

While the first two confessions of Bosnia were building their own school systems over the centuries, the third confession, arriving in the late fifteenth century, brought with it to the Balkans a strong demand for education, again based on the cleric's center - the mosque. Upon securing the Balkans as their western flank against Christendom militarily, the Ottomans brought with them into the Balkans *kadis* (judges), *muftis* (juri) consultants interpreting *sharia*. These learned men composed the class called *ulema*, the leaders of the Muslim community in all things educational. This corps of bureaucrats was the leading edge of the Ottoman objective to secure the Balkans politically and spiritually.³⁹ The *ulema* managed the fledgling school system of Bosnia, orchestrating its growth and purpose over the next 400 years. The members of the

... *ilmije* and *dinije* were trained in schools called *medreses* supported by *vakifs*. These schools were ranked⁴⁰, and ... the rank of a given school determined the

positions of its teachers and graduates when they left. Each school had only one official teacher, the *muderis* (professor of the *medreses*) although helpers could be appointed. What that teacher taught and believed permanently influenced his students who in turn acted in accordance with the principles they had professed or learned in the various *medreses* when they were transferred to other positions.⁴¹

The *ilmije* and *dinije* occupied the urban centers of the fifteenth-century Balkans. To cover the rural areas and convert the predominantly Christian peasants in the tough terrain around those established urban towns, the Ottomans employed missionaries just as the Catholics and Orthodox did. Moslem preachers walked the highways and roads of Balkans seeking converts to their faith, preaching and teaching as they went. They fanned out carrying a fairly liberal approach to the Christian cultural attitudes and customs they encountered. They too built their "monasteries" - called mosques, and also built, either in the actual mosque or in building connected or adjacent to it, the school. Soon followed the libraries, seminaries, and social assistance for the needy, the orphaned and poor.⁴²

But these social systems were only for Muslims. The Ottoman government, inextricably intertwined of state and religion, had not time, or need, for managing the everyday affairs of the two Christian confessions as long as the rulers in Constantinople received their duty from the region. The *millet* system of organizing everybody to pay their duty in the Balkans was unique in the methods of governing in the world. The distinction was always religious regardless of the language the person spoke, be they Jew, Orthodox Christian, Roman Catholic, or Moslem. And each of these entities was allowed to organize, control, and manage their own people as long as those people paid their taxes. And it is here that, in no small part, the *legal* basis for autonomous control of school systems by confessions began in Bosnia. Since the entire cultural ethos of the people was contained in their religious affiliation, it was not

surprising that "...each *millet's* religious leadership provided the sole source for literacy and all forms of culture for its community."⁴³

Notwithstanding this religious independence, the millet system, while benevolent in some ways, actually attenuated and seriously exacerbated the whole language problem of the region which, if not complicated enough when the Turks arrived, grew more so after their literature began to develop in the Balkans. Not only was the school structure carefully designed and orchestrated, the use of language in the schools was too. The only acceptable languages for use in Muslim schools were Islamic Oriental languages: Arabic, Turkish and Persian. Almost all-official documents concerning legal matters, theological texts, philosophical and philological works, and scholarly writings were written in Arabic. The official spoken language of the empire, however, was Turkish. Therefore speakers of the native languages of the region, be it Bosniak, Serbian, Croatian, or any of the other variants in use, were literally unable to communicate with those in power, be they judge, teacher, or philosopher, unless they learned to speak Turkish and write in Arabic. In a region already complicated by class distinctions of the highest order, the introduction of yet another method of discrimination between people served only to heighten the distinctions - both in the day-to-day business of the empire and also in the very ability to clearly communicate concepts between the educators and those who might seek to become educated. Not only was the language foreign, the very ideas being communicated were based on Oriental thinking, significantly alien to the Christian Balkanites. Arabic and Turkish were privileged languages learned by the higher classes able to go to Istanbul or other cities and towns of the region with enough wealth to support this form of higher education.⁴⁴

The *zimmi*, a Turkish word meaning everybody not Muslim, were not likely to be granted such favored treatment by anyone. One of the groups composing the *zimmi* was the Orthodox *millet* that spoke a sort of standard Slavic tongue. They had to compete in this

new linguistic arena along with every other part of the *zimmi*, trying to communicate with the Turkish lords with a language they ignored and took no trouble to learn. As if that wasn't enough to block the development of any sense of homogeneity among the people, they would soon become engaged in another major language shift. While the Orthodox Christians might be

...united in its distrust and hatred of Roman Catholics, ...it was by no means united internally. Linguistic, ecclesiastic, and even proto-national differences that predated the Ottoman conquest, and equally longstanding regional and professional differences not only survived but were sharpened when the Orthodox *millet* was placed under the Patriarch at Istanbul and the Greeks and the Greek language became dominant.⁴⁵

So while the Orthodox Christian might achieve a linguistic headway for several centuries promoted by their clerics, once the Ottomans adopted a decentralized approach to governing them, the people of the Balkans ended up having another language forced onto them by a ruler 600 miles away to the east. Again, as in Slovenia, the force of language would inhibit any coherent direction for education in the region and inhibit cooperation and open communication between the people.

Within 60 years of establishing their firm control over the Balkans, the Turks apparently built their first school in Bosnia. In Sarajevo a higher education establishment for teaching of the Sufi philosophy, called a *hanikah*, was founded. In another six years, by 1537, a formal school called a *madrusah* was opened in Sarajevo for the students of Islamic studies. This school also had a library that is still in existence today, housing rare manuscripts and books. 350 years later this *madrusah* would be ranked as the highest educational institution in Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁴⁶ The Bosnian evolution from a theologically-based education system to a secular one would happen primarily in the middle nineteenth century, but not, as some

suspect, only as a result of the Austro-Hungarian occupation.

The Turks passed the School Law of 1869 creating the first secular schools in Bosnia called *ruždijas* (roozhdeeyahs).⁴⁷ These schools were outnumbered by religious-based schools until the Austrian occupation. In 1876, just prior to the arrival of the Austrians there were 917 Moslem primary schools (called *sybian mektebs*) in Bosnia with 40,779 students, 28,445 males and 12,334 females.⁴⁸ In the southern regions of Bosnia were but 3 *ruždijas* with 200 students, significantly outnumbered by 95 *mektebs* with 4,156 students. Mostar had various schools in operation including 7 female *mektebs*.⁴⁹ Even with all this progress, foreign observers would not speak confidently about the potential for Bosnia. Just prior to the Austrian occupation the British consul in the region, Mr. Homes would report that

the soil of Bosnia teems with various and valuable minerals, her hills abound with splendid forests, her well-watered plains are fertile and productive, her race, under culture, prove exceptionally gifted. Yet her commerce is contemptible, plums ...being the most valuable articles of trade in the province; her population is uneducated, not one man in a hundred knowing how to read, and the chief town, Serajevo (sic), which contains from forty to fifty thousand inhabitants, possessing not a single bookshop.⁵⁰

Into this faith-based system came the Austrians. They decided to keep these religious-based education systems in place, at least initially, for two primary reasons. First, they found out quickly that it would take enormous resources to duplicate the education facilities imbedded in the *millets* and the Austrian presence was to supposedly be temporary anyway. Secondly, appeasement of local theological-political forces and their military arms was preferable, temporarily, to maintenance of a large standing army in the region to keep those opposed to change under control by force. So a

program of maintenance of existing *millet*-based education and religious programs and policies was adopted. This meant that a system of parallel and separate schools was encouraged. The Muslim villages kept their village schools. Catholic education institutions, previously working entirely alone, received funding from Catholic Austria. The Orthodox village schools and churches were closely watched however, with those clerics, teachers and their books that were regarded as anti-Austrian expelled from the region.⁵¹ While publicly supporting the parallel systems of education, the Austrians were actively seeking to gain leverage over the confessional systems too. Within four years the Austro-Hungarian (AH) occupiers had established controls over the three confessions, including their school systems. The AH leadership worked to specifically get control of the leaders of the three confessions, knowing that controlling these three men would ensure compliance of their followers. The Orthodox were first, probably because they *appeared* to be the least difficult to win over.

Soon after the accomplishment of the occupation the Austro-Hungarians took measures to establish its own control and jurisdiction over the religious communities in Bosnia. The government first attempted to unite the Orthodox Church in Bosnia with the Karlovac Patriarchate, but failed because of resolute resistance on the part of all the Serbian Orthodox parishes in the country. However, the monarchy eventually succeeded in establishing control over the church hierarchy by concluding an agreement with the Istanbul Patriarchate on March 28, 1880, whereby, in return for an annual compensation, the Austrian emperor obtained the right to nominate bishops and metropolitans himself and to propose them to the Patriarchate for the discharge of canonical formalities.

Then the Catholics, not necessarily an easy target, were addressed.

Not satisfied with the Franciscans as representatives of Catholicism in Bosnia, AH at the inception of the occupation sought to alter the ecclesiastical hierarchy in the occupied country. On June 8, 1881, after prolonged and persistent diplomatic activity at the Vatican, AH signed a concordat concerning the introduction of a secular Catholic hierarchy in Bosnia. By this agreement the Austrian emperor obtained the right to nominate archbishops and bishops....

Finally, the AH took on the toughest group – the Muslims

The AH government endeavored to prevent (Bosnian Muslim direct contact with Istanbul) and to establish a separate ecclesiastical hierarchy in Bosnia under its own control. In October 1882, with the support of a section of the Muslim bourgeoisie AH established a separate Islamic hierarchy in Bosnia with an *Ulema-Mejliss* (supreme Islamic administrative body) and a *Reis-ul-Uleme* (supreme religious leader) at its head, which the Porte tacitly recognized.⁵²

Into this new structure of power and control, the AH leadership also introduced a system of state-operated schools for primary and secondary education. The confessional schools were left to operate alongside these secular schools with little interference. The Bosnian Catholic schools were subsidized from AH resources.⁵³ Schools were also built specifically to teach in the German and Hungarian languages the children of the AH diplomats, bureaucrats, and entrepreneurs seeking their fortunes in the region. Therefore, by the late nineteenth century the forces of change had now brought into the Bosnia the dynamics of three religions, all used to various levels of educational autonomy, and the forces of modernity represented in the secular, technical education system of the AH empire. Many different languages were spoken, read and, in one form or another, taught in the schools of the region in 1880, most with their origins in the religion of

the students, the remainder the language of the occupying forces.

Over the next hundred years, after two world wars and the communist experience, language would remain a significant issue for the people of the Balkans. But given the atheistic nature of the communist system, suffice to say that religion in the second half of the century had largely been divorced from the impetus of language in the education system. But for all people of the Bosnia, the long development of education by the forces of religion would leave its mark.

Just to see how serious this tangle of languages would become in Yugoslavia in the century following the AH occupation, a look at the languages, either required by law or elective to the ethno-linguistic group desiring it, in secondary schools across Yugoslavia in 1974 will provide a clue. In Vojvodina (voyvodeena), a part of northern Serbia, schools taught Hungarian, Slovakian, Romanian, Rutherian, and Serbo-Croatian. Ten years of instruction in these lan-

guages was ostensibly required by the constitution. In Kosovo, a now well-known province of southern Serbia, schools taught Turkish, Serbo-Croatian and Albanian. In Slovenia, the most northwestern republic, the students learned Italian, Hungarian and Slovenian. In Croatia the languages available by law were Serbian, Croatian, Ukrainian, Hungarian, Italian, Czech and Slovakian.⁵⁴ This menagerie of language in the Balkans grew over 1,000 years. Slowly and deliberately over this period the clerics of the three confessions built upon their own embryonic religion-based school systems. Once the forces of modernity closed over the Balkans from the west, the resulting dual system of religious and secular education, did little to encourage a homogenous approach to living and developing a nation, or region, based on harmony and cooperation. They simply could (or would) not understand each other.

Chapter 3

Education in the Austro-Hungarian Period

...the Austrian attempt to introduce the Latin alphabet together with the spoken language (of the Serbian minority after the emigration of 1690) delayed the adoption of a vernacular-based Serbian literary language. The people, the clergy, and a broad stratum of society, associating the language with the script, began at this time to fear in general the introduction of the simple folk language into the schools, seeing in it something Catholic, directed against Orthodoxy. If there had not been this persecution of Cyrillic...the use of popular language in schools...would have prevailed much earlier than was accomplished in fact.... The Austrian threat and the Serbian fear led directly to the founding of Russian schools at Belgrade and Karlovci during the period 1726-1737. After the Peace of Požarevac in 1718, freeing Belgrade from the Turks and putting it under Austria, the metropolitan of Belgrade, Mojsej Petrović, turned immediately to Peter the Great for funds to build churches and schools. He also asked Peter to send teachers and books, because "the Roman teachers are causing us no small trouble, creating argument and seducing...the uneducated."⁵⁵

This chapter seeks to illuminate what happened to education in Bosnia as a result of the Austrian influence in the region from the early eighteenth century through the Austro-Hungarian (AH) occupation that ended in the first decade of the twentieth century. As the commentator of the time reveals above, the

complications of language, religion, and control of educational development were, in the previous several hundred years, and would remain in the following centuries too, inextricably intertwined. It will also show, in a broad way, how education (and, of course, the language) of the three confessional groups of the Balkans developed in the midst of the powerful forces from the west exerting pressures in all domains of Bosnian life. We will also see, to some degree, how each group sought to control the purpose, methods and outcomes of their respective education systems in competition with the Austrians and other educational forces of Europe at the time.

The European powers that sought to achieve regional hegemony of their particular domains as a result of the Congress of Berlin in 1878 knew their task would not be easy. The Austrians, even though having "won" a new colony in Bosnia - Herzegovina, had to be ready to deal with forces other than just the Russian presence in the Balkans. By the time the Austrians occupied Bosnia, the Russians had been doing their own educational work in the Balkans for 150 years. The French influence was also being felt. They had started something on the European continent that would have long-reaching effects on the nation-states of Europe. Some words about the French contribution to the growth of education are required before a detailed look at the Austrian influence can begin.

The French Revolution, with its origins in the American Revolution, had proved that a

people on the European continent could, like the Americans, also project power against their oppressive ruler, win, and establish for themselves the nature of their own government. The French influence would be felt far and wide across Europe in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It even extended well to the east into the provinces of southeastern Europe where the AH were trying to establish their own controls over the Balkan region devoid of any centralized power broker. Roumen Daskalov admits that

As the (modernizing) innovations came most frequently from France – a leading civilizing force in Europe of the nineteenth century – the Europeanization of the Ottoman Empire came to be known as 'alla franga' vogue, meaning 'on the French (model)', whatever the original source.⁵⁶

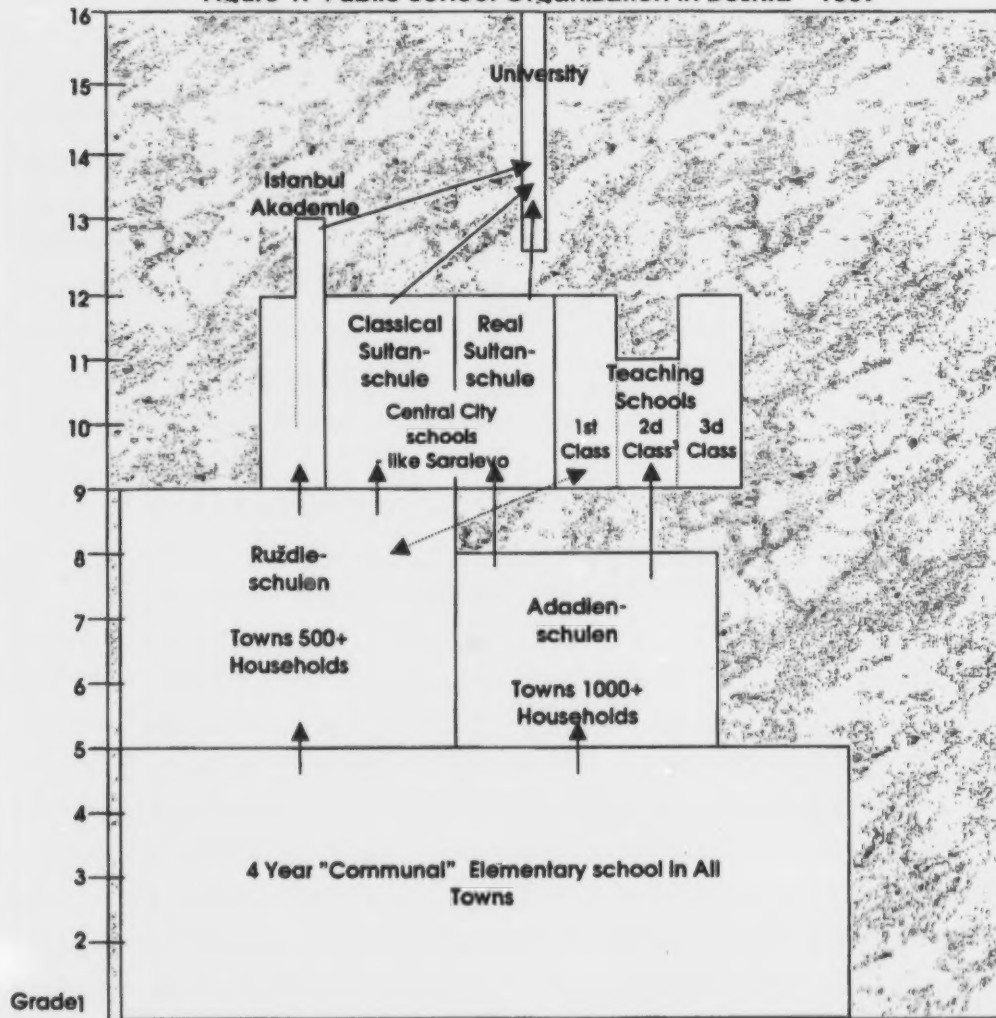
The French presence in education development was evident in the Balkans. The Muslim leadership in Istanbul instituted several reforms for the Balkan provinces just prior to the AH occupation. Education was improved with the establishment of the Lyce'e of Galatasaray in 1868. French was the primary language in the Lyce'e in this attempt to establish a modern secondary school in the region.⁵⁷ The French influence was also quite strong in the northwestern Balkan state of Romania. During Koga'lnicean's ministry (1864-65) a national system of primary and secondary schools was established. The Code Napoleon was the basis for a new Romanian civil code and the reorganization of local governments was based on French models.⁵⁸ French influence would even be felt within the ministerial structure of the Austrian government of the late nineteenth century. Within a huge volume, published by the Austrian Minister of Education in the late nineteenth century, is a section describing the conditions of the Greek Orthodox Church in Bosnia in 1880. The four-page section is written in two languages, German and French.⁵⁹ It could very well be that the use of French was specifi-

cally designed to be read by Orthodox priests in Bosnia, since they might know French, but not German.

Organization of Ottoman Schools

Notwithstanding this significant French presence in the development of education in nineteenth century Europe, the Ottoman Empire had also been busy in the early nineteenth century developing their own systems; which the Austrians would eventually inherit. The Austrians would inherit a system which, by 1869, had developed into a fairly sophisticated one, albeit probably not enjoyed but by about fifty percent of the Balkan population, if that much. But organized it was. Ottoman education laws of 1869 required the public school system in Bosnia be organized into five types of schools: elementary, one variant of a middle school called the Ruždieschulen, the other variant called the Adadienschulen, and the precursor of what we know today as the high school, called the Sultanienschulen. After graduation from high school, Bosnians, and only the right kind of Bosnians, had access to the fifth component, called the Alienschulen, comprising three types of schools. The Alienschulen had an Academy in Istanbul, Bosnian teacher's schools, and Bosnian schools for arts and crafts.⁶⁰ The organizational scheme of these schools is shown in Figure 1 below.⁶¹ The blocks of different kinds of schools indicate, not precisely, relative density of each type school in the country. For example there are more than twice as many 4-year common elementary schools than the combined number of Ruždieschulen and Adadienschulen. The left axis indicates the academic years of school that apply to each type. A brief description of the course requirements and years of schooling follows the diagram.

Figure 1. Public School Organization in Bosnia - 1869



Schooling began in a four-year elementary school, which was required to be established in all towns (*mahala*) whether the town was Moslem or not. The subjects required included Turkish language, study of the Koran, *Tedžwid*, study of nature, and the *Ilmihal*. The law specifically allowed non-Moslem youth to study the religion of their own confession. The students practiced writing skills in their workbooks, again with non-Moslem youth allowed to write in their own cultural language. Ottoman history was required for all, as was geography and the study of the Book of Necessary Knowledge. Sexes were segregated in these elementary schools. For maiden schools, the girls studied the same general curriculum with the addition of sewing, handwork, and household tasks (baking, etc.).⁶²

The Ruždieschulen was the next level, a four year variant of a middle school. In each city with more than 500 households and which also had one Moslem school in place, there would be built one Christian Ruždieschulen. The curriculum included religion, Turkish, Arabic, and Persian language, writing tasks (composition), mathematics, drawing, geometry, French and Ottoman history, geography, and gymnastics. These schools obviously recognized the requirements to accommodate the Moslem holy periods of Ramazan and Kurban Bajram, allowing fifteen-day periods in the school year to observe these religious periods. For each male Moslem and Christian school, one four-year Ruždieschulen school for girls was required to be built. Their curriculum again mirrored the boys with a few additions. Girls were expected to also study home economics and music, the last being elective. Both types of non-Moslem schools allowed for the study of the national language of the students instead of Arabic and Persian.⁶³

Cities with over 1,000 households were required to build the second middle school variant, the three-year Adadienschulen.⁶⁴ The curriculum obviously expanded as the students matured. Language studies were required in Turkish (including the "style" of the language) and Ottoman composition. The national econ-

omy, mathematics, geography, geometry, French language and history, physics, logic, biology, chemistry, mechanics, and drawing were required courses. There does not appear to have been an Adadienschulen required, by any faith, to accommodate the graduates of the girls elementary and Ruždieschulen.⁶⁵

Central cities of Bosnia, like Sarajevo, established the next level called the Sultanien-schulen. The curriculum ran from either three to a maximum of six years. These schools are the nineteenth century equivalent of present day high schools. The Sultan school could be of two types; Classical or Real. Sultan schools were organized for day and night students. For every eight to twelve students who might collectively ask for special instruction, the schools were required to have at least one class formed in that learning subject. The language of the rules for Sultan schools grows very specific, in contrast to the three previous types, about the balance of leadership in the school. A Bosnian director was required with a deputy, an estate manager, a cook, caretaker and an overseer.

The curriculum for each type of school, either Classic or Real, intended to graduate a specific type of student. The Classic Sultanien-schulen focussed on the humanities; Turkish language (including style), written expression in Arabic and Persian language, rhetoric, French language, economics, and history. The Real Sultanien-schulen focussed on the hard sciences: mathematics and mechanics, trigonometry, astronomy, physics, industrial chemistry, and biology.⁶⁶

The last step in the hierarchy of learning was a group of schools called the Alien-schulen. This group was composed of the Academy, Teaching Schools, and a school for arts and crafts, only the latter two being available in Bosnia. Students destined for the Academy would travel to Istanbul to attend. The Teaching Schools were divided into two parts, Classic and Real, similar to the Sultanien-schulen. However, the students were further subdivided into more discreet classes. The starting point for this discrimination was based on the high school from which the students

graduated. The first class in the Teaching School was composed of graduates of the Ruždienschulen, the second from the Adadienschule, and the third from the Sultanien-schulen. The first class was composed of graduates of both Moslems and non-Moslem schools and studied for three years. Since the source does not speak of a discrimination of Moslem or non-Moslem in the classes of teachers destined to teach in the Adadienschulen and Sultanien-schulen, it is probable that these classes were either all Moslem or none. All subjects were similar to those taught in the Sultanien-schulen but taught in the student's own language.⁶⁷

It appears that a student with the proper grades and connections could then advance to a more prestigious form of high school called the Ottoman Academy in Istanbul. The Academy was a step toward university level education. Most students studied for three years, while those seeking a professorship studied for four. Academics were organized into one of three departments: philosophy and classical subjects, law, and natural science subjects. In the philosophy and classical subjects department, the students studied human anatomy and psychology, logic, rhetoric (interestingly, all three departments were required to study rhetoric), history, French history, six languages-Arabic, Persian, Turkish, French, Greek, and Latin, poetry, archeology and numismatics. In the law department the prospective jurists studied Roman, French, and international law, Ottoman criminal law and the legal systems of cities. In the natural science department the subjects ranged from astronomy, physics, mechanics, chemistry, geology, mineralogy, botany, zoology, geometry, trigonometry, theoretical and practical mathematics, and the history of nature. All subjects were taught in Turkish (with the exception of the foreign languages of course), with some other exceptions for teaching in French.⁶⁸

Alongside the public schools described above, the Ottomans allowed the establishment of private schools, which could be built by either the town, or by individuals - with their own money. Teachers had to be certified by

either the Ottoman Ministry of Education or the local organs in Bosnia. Teachers were forbidden to teach in manner designed to upset either local or Istanbul politics and teachers aware of such shenanigans were obliged to report upon their fellow teachers who dared to try.⁶⁹

If the Ottoman law was quite specific about education levels in the system, the subjects taught, holidays, directors and deputy director's pay, etc., it was also specific about corporal punishment. Both public and private schools were forbidden to exercise corporal punishment. Teachers who failed to heed this rule were subject to being punished.⁷⁰ What punishment was imposed on teachers striking their students is not clear.

The Austrians Occupy the Region

The AH assumed physical control of Bosnia with many objectives in mind, one being the subordination of the three education systems then in place to their own rule. The religious leaders of these three confessions had established a strong sense of autonomy in their own educational affairs even while under the control of the Turkish rulers of the Ottoman Empire. Well prior to the occupation the Turkish Ottoman Empire had slowly begun disintegrating against the tide of modernity encroaching from the west. Of all the states in the Balkan region, the AH sought to make Bosnia a model colony, a showcase of their ability to build a modern state from the ruins of the Ottoman kingdom.⁷¹ Upon occupation of Bosnia, in order to bring the education systems of the three confessions under some initial control, within the short three-year period from 1880 - 1882, the AH managed to convince the religious leadership of the Catholics, Orthodox, and Muslims of the Bosnian region to subordinate themselves to AH leadership. The AH achieved this seizure of the reins of clerical power by trading money and other inducements with the confessional leadership for the power of the AH leadership to

nominate and put in place religious leaders who would hopefully be sympathetic to the AH cause.⁷²

Within four years the AH rulers gained agreements with Rome and the Orthodox and Muslims in Istanbul allowing the AH leadership to nominate Catholic and Orthodox bishops as well as have immediate authority over a local Muslim hierarchy in Bosnia. The local confessional leadership would be responsive to the AH and not the Porte or Rome. With their own people installed in the positions of power over the respective religious populations, the AH could then manipulate all factors of the social dynamics of the region, not the least of which would be the education systems that each confession controlled.

The AH found in the Balkans a significant autonomy in each confession in matters dealing with social services, welfare and education. This autonomy had grown over the previous 400 years of Ottoman rule because the Porte really did not care what the Catholics and Orthodox people of the region did as long as they paid their tribute to the Muslim leadership in Istanbul. Therefore, each confession built their own systems to sustain and protect their own people with little interference from the ruling Muslim leadership, as long as they got their money. There certainly were exceptions to the Muslim tendency for accommodation of the two other faith's goals and objectives. Repression was, however, usually localized and not a common Moslem trait across the Balkans. Probably more regions of the Balkans suffered slightly than did greatly in matters of confessional control of their own people's destinies - except for the small matter of paying taxes. That duty never stopped and was omnipresent. But there definitely was repression by the Ottomans. Some of the Balkan people thought this repression would end with the AH occupation. These perceptions ran through the social structure of the region. The rich and poor expected major shifts in control of land and power from the Ottomans to the people. They did not get this major shift in land-owning, but they did get some relative freedom to build their own

schools without harassment from the ruling Ottoman landlords - who stayed in place when the AH occupied the region. This new-found freedom can be best shown by what happened to one Serbian share-cropper, and his friends, during the early days of the AH occupation. Vaso Erić, in relating to his grandsons what had happened to him in 1875, told how he

...had come from the dirt-poor high plateau of Montenegro to farm the fields of Muslim landowners (in Bosnia) in exchange for a share of the harvest. Vaso told his grandsons of the humiliation of being forbidden to have an Orthodox church that amounted to anything more than a tiny chapel with a clapboard roof: he told the boys how he had to teach himself to read and write because the Serbs were forbidden to have schools. (He) was an outlaw in the forests above Srebrenica (surebreneetsa) when the Austrian authorities arrived in Bosnia. At first, he and many other Serbian share-croppers assumed that Austria's emperor, Franz Josef I, would abolish Bosnia's obsolete feudal order and distribute the large estates to the peasants who were working the land. Vasa returned to Kravica (krahveetsa). The village men built themselves a new Orthodox Church of stone, brick, and stucco with a tall, proud steeple. Next to it they built a boarding school where Vaso sent his three sons, ...to be taught by a priest.⁷³

While Vaso's village of Kravica may have been forbidden to have a school, this was certainly not true across all of the Balkans, or even in Bosnia. It certainly may have been common in rural regions but the cities were not so constrained.⁷⁴ But it was true that across Bosnia the people, like Vaso Erić, made their own educational progress sometimes in spite of the best efforts of the Ottomans and Austrians to prohibit them from doing so. And while the local, rural Orthodox priest may not have been as well educated as his peers in and around Belgrade, he was better educated than anybody around the village. In taking on the task of

building their own schools, the most important social impact was that these people kept alive the autonomous spirit developed over the preceding centuries and contributed, in no small measure, to the development of the education systems of the region which would address the emerging demands of a rural, agrarian region developing into a modern, industrial one.

School Building

School building then was going on by all three confessions prior to the arrival of the AH. How many schools did they find in place when they moved into their new colony in 1878 with their 60,000-man army to occupy the capital city Sarajevo? There were apparently only seven religious schools and ten small secondary schools active in the capital in 1875. The total student population of the schools was 34,000 for the Muslims and 4,000 combined for the Christians and Jews.⁷⁵ The Franciscans were active in running small Catholic schools as were the Sisters of Mercy and the Order of the Heart of Jesus.⁷⁶ For a capital city in a remote region this was a fairly substantial student body since the total population of the capital was 380,000. There were, then, about ten percent of the population in a school of some kind when the AH arrived. The quality and scope of that education is not clear. It is possible to make a simple extrapolation using a description of Romanian schools in the same era. If the extrapolation has any accuracy then the quality of Bosnian schools left much to be desired.

Our (Romanian) schools are most primitive, they do not meet the requirements set by law, nor do they satisfy the demand for educational services, they fail altogether to fulfill their lofty mission. In fact, in some places they are outright scandalous - repulsive, tiny, dark, filthy, except for one or two toilets these schools have absolutely nothing. They do not have the necessary materials, textbooks, or anything at all that is required for effective

learning. The school is often too far from where the children live. Neither the townspeople, nor the parents are truly concerned, in fact they are tired of the school. The people think of it as a serious burden and a nuisance, instead of expressing interest, feeling enthusiastic, or making sacrifices, the people eagerly await an opportunity to rid of it.⁷⁷

Indifference by the people of Bosnia certainly existed - it still does today. Conditions may or may not have been either better or worse. If it is not clear the extent of either factor, it is clear that almost all of the curriculum was based in a religious faith and, in large part, used the language of that faith: Latin and Greek for the Catholics, Old Church Slavonic for the Serbian Orthodox and Arabic for the Muslims.

Austrian Impact on Education

What did the AH do to create an impact upon the education systems they found in place in the Balkans upon occupation? One thing they did was to imitate practices that the Serbian leadership had initiated several decades earlier. Starting in the 1830s the Serbs dispatched their best and brightest young people to the universities of Europe to learn their systems and methods for dealing with the emerging demands of modernity. Montenegro and Serbia therefore gained valuable experts in the social and technical sciences who could influence progress in the region. These scholars were supported by state subsidies while engaged in university learning and became tools of the same state when they returned.⁷⁸ The AH decided to do the same thing. Their motive, however, was slightly different. While the Serbs sought well-educated youth to assist in nation building, with the latest innovations from the west, the AH leaders wanted to placate potential disruptive influences from the Muslims in the Balkans. The Ottoman government had had to resort to importing foreign experts and techni-

cians since their confessional-based education system produced none.⁷⁹ The AH leadership, to assist in defusing potential backlash to their education initiatives, began to offer scholarships to Germany for the children of the powerful Muslim families.⁸⁰ This saved the ruling Turkish lords the money they had previously earmarked for paying imported foreign technicians and, more significantly, also allowed the slow build-up of a core of intellectuals who could begin to try and build the Muslim nation from within. However, all these measures to get education moving in Bosnia, regardless of any of the ethnic groups publicly stated purpose, inevitably led to corruption within the bureaucracy. The purpose of education changed. Education was not pursued to create wealth and business, *education was pursued for self-aggrandizement*. This shift in education's role in national development would have significant, long-term impact. After 1850

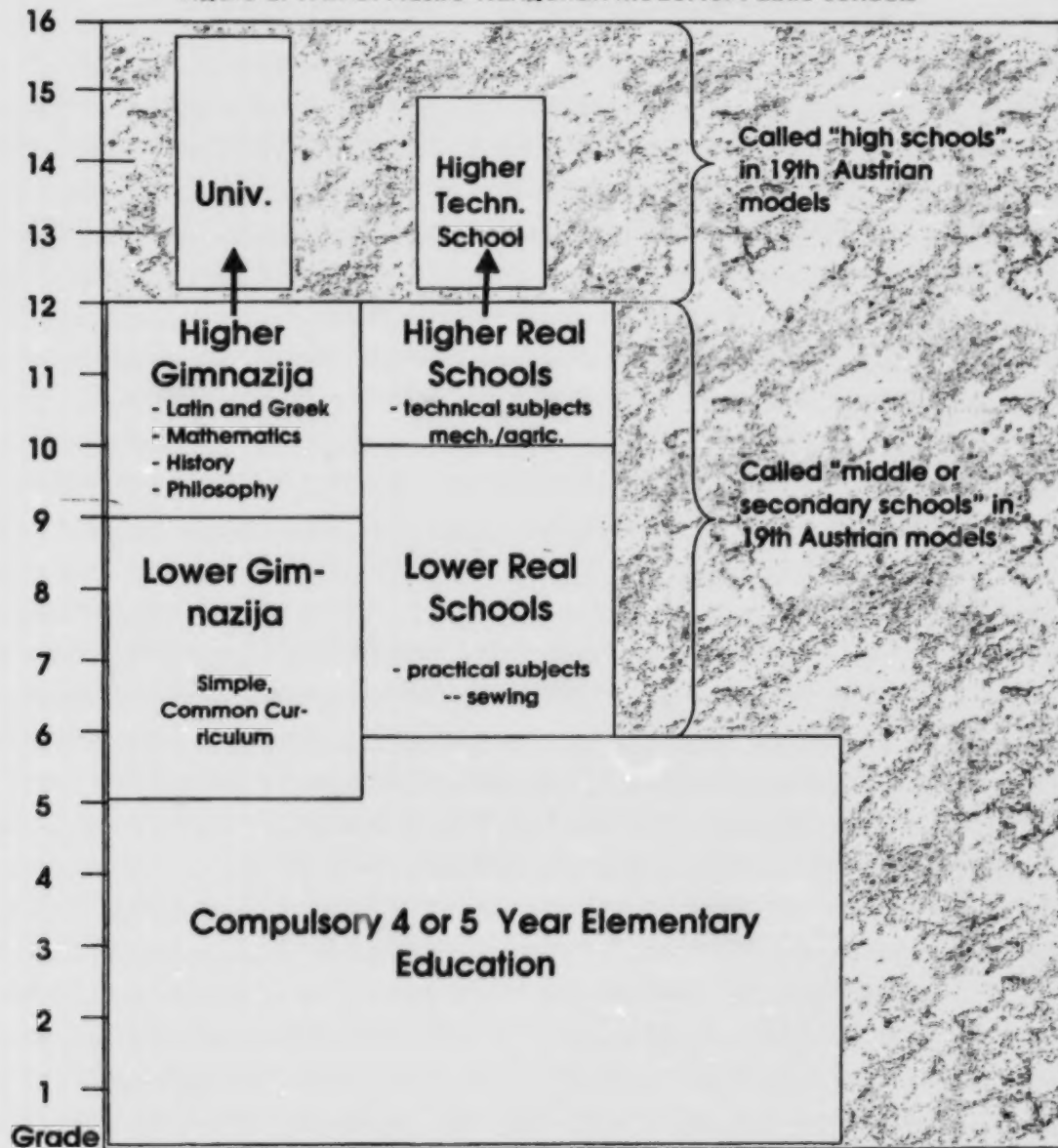
...all new (Balkan) states embarked upon a policy of development and modernization. The state pursued economic policies of protectionism and encouragement of the infant industries; it took upon itself the task of building up an infrastructure...the centralization and homogenization of education, etc. ...certain contradictions between nationalism and modernization, which remained hidden in the previous (Ottoman Empire), came to the fore at this point. The role of the state in substituting for lacking prerequisites of economic development in particular proved to be an extremely dubious affair. ... state intervention in the economy was of little help in the formulation of an autonomous national entrepreneurial

class and lead to a proliferation of corrupt administration trafficking in influence. Business and the expanding bureaucracy established a close *parasitic relationship* (emphasis mine). It was not business but civil service that was attractive; education was pursued with the express purpose of procuring an office in the state apparatus. The civil service expanded to accommodate the numerous office-seekers, especially people of some education.⁸¹

The AH exported Muslims to western schools but imported their own modern school system and transplanted it into the Balkans. The model that the AH brought into the region has remained essentially unchanged over the ensuing 120 years. There certainly have been modifications to this imported system but the basic building blocks of that system remain, along with the socio-political forces that accompanied it. This system had its origins in the Austrian education laws of Maria Theresa in 1774 and the *Entwurf* of 1849.

The AH occupation of Bosnia began only twenty-five years after the *Entwurf* of 1849. Therefore, the occupation leadership brought into the region a system, which had already undergone two decades of adjustment and refinement. The *Entwurf* required the school system of the AH empire to be organized as shown in Figure 2 below. This system is modeled the same as Figure 1. The relative density of type schools is aligned against the academic years that appear on the left axis. The blocks are not intended to portray actual number of schools, only a broad comparison of the probable amount of each.

Figure 2. 19th C. Austro-Hungarian Model for Public Schools



Source: Nagy, Peter "Tendencies of Educational Policy", Hungarian Electronics Library: p.2-3.

Over the next forty years the Entwurf model would be modified somewhat by subsequent AH education ministers but the basic design remained as shown above. This was the model that was applied to the embryonic secular school systems of the Balkans. The Gimnazija was not only one of the components of a new system of secondary education but also was the more prestigious of the two components. It was so, not surprisingly, because of language - the Latin language. In the previous centuries of educational development in the Balkans the driving force was religion. While Latin was the language of the faithful lay people and clerics of the Catholic Church, it was also the principal language of law and medicine. Latin then was always a required language in the Gimnazija since the Gimnazija was only way to get to the university level to study law and medicine. The AH sustained this curriculum demand for Latin, and to a lesser degree Greek, in their newly built secondary school system.⁸²

Education Growth in Sister States

A point of comparison between the state of educational progress achieved in Austria and Hungary at the time of the Bosnian occupation, and what existed in Bosnia about the same time, might be useful. This comparison may help to establish a contextual relationship showing the magnitude of the task facing the AH educational leadership when beginning the development of the primary and secondary systems in the Balkans. The AH conducted their first census of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1879, finding approximately 1 million people.⁸³ This number is highly suspect since it represented mostly males and obviously did not include all the people in the rough mountainous terrain outside the cities. Therefore a better, but entirely speculative figure, would be 2 million people in 1879, assuming a balance of 50/50 between men and women. The population trends in Bosnia follow the normal pattern of developing countries with about fifteen percent of the general population

falling into the age groups nine to nineteen⁸⁴, the population generally required to be schooled in any education system. Using the fifteen-percent figure means there were approximately 300,000 Bosnian children in the age groups for which primary and secondary schools would be required.

At the same time in the Austrian and Hungarian regions of the empire of 1879, there were about 50 million people. In Austria alone there were a little over 2 million children in the elementary school system and about 11,000 in the secondary system. Using just the figure of 2 million children in the Austrian school systems, it is easy to see that there were probably as many children in the school systems of Austria⁸⁵ (in effect for over 100 years) as there were in the entire population of all of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Therefore, the AH education system that was brought into the Balkans had both a century of experience in the business of secular primary and secondary education and a potential target population just a fraction the size of their own. It would appear that some progress in secular education in Bosnia would be possible given the manageable size of the target population. It would also seem desirable - especially if the native leadership of Bosnia and Herzegovina wanted progress. It was not to be.

The AH brought not just a design for secular schools but a philosophy of education that, having matured in Germanic states in the previous century, was useful in a society embracing change but totally foreign to a society afraid of it. The AH would have significant trouble making believers of the education system leadership of the Balkans because the idea the AH wanted the Balkanites to believe in was anti-ethical to their own perceptions of what was valuable in learning and what was not. The AH brought with them an educational concept that grew out of the merger of two German educational threads of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: the *Bildung* and *Diesterweg*.

The *Bildung* grew out of the Enlightenment and promoted the idea that each man will remain unfulfilled as long as he realizes

that he is not yet all that he really knows that he can be. In the beginning of this movement there was some reliance upon the religious affiliation of the student in this self-development process. The objective of the Bildung school of educational thought was that the student learned in order to shape his own self "...in order to become a harmonious, fully formed personality (and that the) ...development of the one's rational faculties was basic to the ... concept of Bildung."⁸⁶ A principal promoter of the Bildung concept was Wilhelm von Humboldt. He championed the student's continuous quest for knowledge using the rational faculties of the self-propelled mind and emphasized development that *forced change*. So important was the need to allow for change and growth that "...there could be *no fixation* (emphasis mine) upon individual sacred texts or traditions which might foreclose the future."⁸⁷

Building upon, but diverging from, the Bildung school in the nineteenth century was a follow-on education theory promoted by Friederich Diesterweg. He promoted an idea that unlike the Bildung, with some basis in a religious view of life, the proper schooling methods divorced themselves from a religious base. The central tenants of Diesterweg's educational philosophy were that

the educational principle of evolution demands in the educational field: respect for human nature and of the individual; its stimulation to full development, expression, activity, and initiative; natural, hence joyful, experience of life; stimulation to develop the senses, strengthening the body, to explore, to be lucid and to discover things; providing the minds with suitable nourishment; constant progress. It forbids; arbitrary assumptions and manipulations of human nature; any encouragement to act blindly and mechanically; any kind of drill; rote learning; uniformity; force feeding with subject matter that is not understood....⁸⁸

The pedagogical influence of the Bildung, when coupled with the objectives of

the Diesterweg school made for an ideological approach to education, when imported into the Balkans by the AH, that could not have been better designed to be *totally at odds* with the methods of learning then in vogue in the region. The education systems of Bosnia at the time, being predominantly religious, relied almost exclusively on religious texts as the basis of learning, (regardless of confession), promoted memorization at the expense of originality born of discovery, and actively encouraged acting blindly and mechanically. Almost all the teachers, being clerics, were afraid of initiative since this behavior intrinsically acted against expected norms imposed by any of the three principal confessions at work in the region. It is no surprise then that there was not a long period of mutual harmony between occupier and the occupied.

Austrian School Building

But the occupiers also built their own secondary schools. On 1 November 1879, the Duke Wilhelm von Wuertemberg officially opened the first secondary school built by the Austrians in Sarajevo. It was not a big school, but it was a start. The total population of the school was 96 students divided into two groups. The first group was composed of 42 students who had completed their four years of elementary school and were ready for the first year of secondary school. The spread of ages among these 42 students was quite remarkable by today's standards but not dissimilar from one-room schoolhouses in America at the time. There were three 10 year-olds, four 11 year-olds, ten 12 year-olds, five 13 year-olds, 14 fourteen year-olds, four 15 year-olds, and two 16 year-olds. The sex of the students is, sadly, not mentioned, but were probably all male. The religious breakout of this group was 16 Catholic, 10 Orthodox, 7 Muslim, 7 Jews, and two Evangelical students. The second group was composed of 54 students who had not completed their required elementary school educa-

tion and were placed in a preparatory program. These children were "hardly literate." There were 18 Jews, 14 Catholics, 12 Orthodox, 9 Moslems and one Evangelical student in this group. The success rate of the preparatory program was not good. Of the starting class of 54 students, only 28 passed on to the first year of this new secondary school, 12 failed outright and 14 left school before the term ended.⁸⁹

Harmony Ends

While Catholics, Orthodox, and Muslims might achieve some initial harmony in this first secular secondary school of Sarajevo, the initial cooperation on matters dealing with education by the three confessions of the Balkans with the occupying AH lasted only a short while. After the AH leadership in Bosnia had made extensive efforts to make agreements with the high representatives of the Catholic, Orthodox and Muslim faiths to control the nomination and work of the bishops and imams, the backlash set in. Within twenty years of Austrian occupation, the forces seeking a return to the autonomous days prior to 1875 were hard at work to reverse their fortunes. The demand for autonomy in matters relating to education was very strong. Coupled with the continent-wide forces of nationalism the backlash grew even more powerful. There was little backlash from the Catholic communities in the Balkans since the occupiers were Catholic and granted freedoms to the clerics and their educational systems they had little enjoyed over the preceding centuries. But it was not so for the Serbian Orthodox and the Bosniak Muslims.

After Serbia gained her independence and assumed a monarchical government in 1882, she began to act like her neighbors and pass laws that gave impetus to progress in the nation. They passed laws dealing with freedom of the press, the system of justice and judges, and requirements for the populace to submit to a form of compulsory education.⁹⁰ So, it should not be surprising that the Serbs inside Bosnia, watching

these developments to their east, would also want to connect to the growing prestige and power of Serbia and her educational prowess. In 1886, just eight years after the formal occupation of Bosnia by the AH, the Serbs of Bosnia renewed their claims on the occupying government. The Serbs wrote lengthy memoranda to the ruling Austrian powers demanding several things be changed due to violations the Serbs perceived the Austrians had committed upon them. The Serbs wanted a return of clerical and educational autonomy they had enjoyed under the Ottomans and to the open and unencumbered use of the Cyrillic alphabet and Serbian names. They also wanted to appoint their own teachers and erect their own elementary and secondary schools, plus the authority to tax their own people to pay for the teachers and buildings they would create and maintain. This initial attempt failed and the signatories were quickly imprisoned. The Austrians tried to force the vocal Serbians into submission by directing the Orthodox leadership they controlled to create a political party that would repudiate the outspoken church members clamoring for a return to the status quo ante. The activist Serbs tried again a year later and failed again. It would be another full nine years from the first attempt until their previously held privileges in schooling and religion were restored in 1905.⁹¹

Soon after the Orthodox clergy began to agitate for return of control of their own schools, the Muslims also began to act - for the same objectives. While a return of educational autonomy was a principal goal of their actions, the larger objective was preservation of the Muslim faith (power) that was under serious pressures from the occupying powers. Catholic missionaries were converting Muslims from the faith, Muslim cemeteries became parks (and remain so today in downtown Sarajevo), and there was some destruction of mosques and Islamic institutions.⁹² The clerics could not stand idly by while their control slipped further and further away. Some decided that the fight was not worth it and fled from occupied Bosnia to other regions of the Balkans more sympathetic to their religious-based education systems.⁹³ But

the Austrians were not going to let things get out of control. By 1907, the Austrians realized dialogue might serve a better long-term purpose than continuing confrontations. They agreed that the Muslims could establish and run a supreme governing organ for the religious and vakuf-educational affairs that would be known as the Provincial Vakuf-Educational Assembly. The highest ecclesiastical part of this assembly would be the *Ulema-Mejliss* appointed by the emperor. By the sheer weight of their constant demonstrations, meetings with delegations, letters and memoranda, the Muslim *ulema* had managed to break the Austrian grip on their education systems and regained control of them by 1909.⁹⁴

Concurrent with the overt measures to control the Orthodox and Muslim reactionaries and their demands for educational control, the AH also tried to improve the pace of their own modernizing efforts for education in the occupied region. In the same year that Muslim autonomy was restored, the AH passed laws making education compulsory in Bosnia.⁹⁵ A review of the subjects required for study in the typical compulsory "folks school" (middle school) of the time is shown in the table in Figure 3. It, like Figures 1 and 2, reflects the subjects and number of classes required per week for each year. The U.S. equivalent, but again not precisely, of the Bosnian numbered grade is just below the title of the figure.

Figure 3. 1880 Learning Plan for the Town Folks Schools

Bosnian Grade Level	I	II	III	IV	Total
U.S. Equivalent	5	6	7	8	
Subjects					
Religion	2	2	2	2	8
Serbo-Croatian	12	8	8	8	36
Foreign Language 1			2	2	4
Geography			2	2	4
Chemistry			2	2	4
Mathematics	4	4	4	4	16
Writing		4	2	2	8
Art/Singing	2	4	4	4	14
Physical Education	2	2	2	2	8
Hours/Week/Year	22	24	28	28	102

Educational Controls

At this same time, apart from trying to get, and keep young Bosnians in school, the AH also had to find a way to control the ever-growing nationalist mood in the young people - especially the Serbian youth. The Austrians used education to groom young Bosnians who would support their policies. They granted many scholarships, as mentioned before, but also opened many new schools too. In the decade prior to the First World War the Austrians would have a difficult time finding good teachers who could not only teach well, but also

conduct suitable political propagandizing in the right places to subdue the nationalist fever rising in the ranks of the Orthodox and Muslim people of the region. In order to maintain firm control over the schools, students, and the teachers, the AH leadership sought to establish control measures over the creation and maintenance of the curriculums, student and teacher behavior, and surveillance of after school activities by the students. The code of conduct for students was strict.⁹⁶

The student code of conduct for 1908 contained no less than 152 paragraphs. The code required students to buy the book of rules itself and have their parents' attest that they had

themselves read the code. The code prohibited membership in any organization in the school or outside, let alone a political one. Strict rules and regulations also controlled teacher behavior. A teacher would not get into trouble for teaching about the Cyrillic alphabet (potentially an ingredient in fueling nationalist sentiment), but would be severely chastised if the class was taught in a morning period instead of the afternoon when it was scheduled. This overbearing reliance on dogmatic rules pervades Bosnian education still today. But the Austrians were never really serious about severely punishing anyone for violation of one or more of the 152 rules outlining student behavior inside and outside the classroom. They were not so serious because punishment could stir up a hornet's nest of reaction that, in the long term, would be worse than the misdeed itself. The Austrian objective was, surreptitiously, to build a loyal Bosnian elite willing to support occupation policies. They could not reach that objective if they alienated the very populace from which that elite must eventually emerge. They did withdraw scholarship support for certain offenders. They expelled the more blatant political agitators who, as the law of unintended consequences always proves, went directly to Serbia joining the ranks of the rampant nationalists there - eventually returning to Bosnia to fight another day.⁹⁷ In the midst of all these militant forces moving across the educational landscape were the teachers, trying to keep things under control. What did they have to prepare them for the tasks of teaching students in a country struggling to become both modern and a nation? Not much.

Teacher Training

The first teacher training school in Sarajevo that was established to formally train secondary school teachers for the public system in Bosnia opened only eight years after the Austrian occupation, in 1886. This teacher training school grew out of a simple teacher-training course that was started shortly after the

occupation in 1882. The Catholics were not far behind establishing a school for private secondary school teacher training under direction of the Roman Catholic Bishop Stadtler and the Order of Daughters of Heavenly Love. This teacher training enterprise was an integral part of the Roman Catholic Institute of Saint Vinko. The Austrians, again in order to build a cadre of capable and loyal teachers to their cause, worked with the Muslim Religious Council to open the Teacher Training Secondary School in 1893. Like the Roman Catholic system, this teacher training school was embedded within the architecture of the Muslim national schools.⁹⁸ Certainly some influence in the building of these secular schools was garnered from the previous model of religion-based teaching school developed long before the Austrian occupation. But even with all these efforts, they proved insufficient for the needs of the growing primary and secondary school systems of Bosnia. The Austrians had to resort, probably with a significant sense of regret, to hiring graduates of Serbian educational institutions.⁹⁹ The presence of Serbian-educated teachers (and maybe, unwittingly, some of the very people expelled years before from Bosnian schools) did little to defuse the nationalist passions growing in the hearts of young Bosnian Serbs.

The first Bosnian teacher's society, devoted to the community of teachers and their learning, was apparently opened in 1901 by a man named Jukić with an objective of enabling new progressive ideas to blossom about teaching and learning.¹⁰⁰ In 1911, a Teacher Training Secondary School was opened in Sarajevo for women followed soon by a similar school for women in Mostar. What the teacher's learned in these teacher training schools, while ostensibly designed to generate and sustain progress of the nation into modernity, actually worked against that goal.

The overwhelmingly dominant model of mass schooling internationally has always been authoritarian. In this model students have little control or power over school curriculum or organi-

zation and are largely seen as recipients of knowledge and instructions. It is a model that stems from the introduction of mass schooling at the end of the 19th century, when a key purpose of the spread of formal education was to socialize young people into the routinized and subordinate norms and behaviors required of workers in large-scale bureaucratic organizations such as factories and offices. With this form of school organization came a view of knowledge as factual and certain and there being one true answer to questions. It was the purpose of schools to transmit these "true facts" to their students. There was therefore little purpose in discussion or investigation, education consisted of a body of facts to be learned. This teacher-centered, bureaucratic and authoritarian model of schooling was then exported from Europe to many parts of the world, either directly through colonialism or indirectly by having been the first to provide an authoritative definition of what a modern school for the masses looked like.¹⁰¹

This certainly happened in Bosnia. Coupled with the eastern tendency to question nothing publicly, the resulting combination formed an education system which stifled creativity, discouraged intellectual excursions away from the teacher's programmed solutions, and worked to stifle the development of an educational system required to meet the growing demands of modernity. A diverse economy requires intellectual skills in creativity, adaptability, and risk-taking. Bosnia lacked accumulated capital and a bourgeoisie with economic muscle, both of which naturally generate demands for an education system that will produce people who can think through difficult problems quickly and efficiently. This authoritarianism (which has also been called "encyclopedism"¹⁰²), when melded with an eastern model of learning focussing on memorization (especially of religious tracts) produced a pedagogical system unable to create the kind of thinking required of a nation seeking to leave her agricultural roots behind and join the future wave of business-

oriented and industrialized nations. This pedagogical model remains the primary method of teaching in Bosnia today. This is due, partly, to the overriding Communist devotion for 50 years to the idea that learning was solely empirical. Efforts, however, are ongoing to create opportunities to apply a more interactive and creative form of learning in the system. If this hybrid pedagogical system inhibited intellectual growth for male students, breaking the inhibitions concerning the education of women in Bosnia would be another significant challenge.

Women's Education

Women had a tough time getting educated, let alone getting trained to be a teacher in nineteenth century Balkan states. But that does not mean that some Moslem men did not have an enlightened view, (enlightened at least within the context of the pre-modern Balkans), of how women might fit into the scheme of life in predominantly Muslim nations like Bosnia.

Sheik ur-Rais (in the nineteenth century) adopted an apologetic and defensive approach (in order to try and reverse perceptions of Islam's inequality and oppression). He admitted that Muslim women lived in ignorance and backwardness but he argued that illiteracy and ignorance were not unique to Muslim women. The solution to the problem of illiteracy and backwardness of Muslim women was not the abolition of the veil and open participation in social life. That would only introduce corruption and prostitution into Muslim society. Instead he proposed that the Islamic dress be preserved but that modern education should also be provided for Muslim women. This would allow them to play an active role in the life of Muslim societies.¹⁰³

A pioneer in providing education for women in general in Bosnia emerged twenty years prior to the AH occupation and her influence would be felt well beyond their, and her,

departure. Her name was Staka Skenderova. She would work tirelessly for over twenty years developing educational opportunity for the young girls of Sarajevo. An integral part of her program would involve, not surprisingly, the use of teachers from Austria.

Staka was the daughter of an Orthodox businessman who worked in Sarajevo. She had frequent contact with the Orthodox clergy in the city. From them she gained permission to read their religious texts and study the language of the region. The Russian consul records from this period reveal that those religious books were the only texts accessible to the commoner of Sarajevo in that day. Eventually, she so impressed her father and friends with her aptitude for language that she was enrolled with two prominent Sarajevo teachers, Simo and Mićo Aranitović. A commentator of the time described Staka as "...of medium stature, with a small, freckled face, a bitty pointed nose and small brown eyes."¹⁰⁴

Probably prompted by her association with the Orthodox priests and the wealthy of Sarajevo, she realized there was value in creating a school for women in the city. When only 26 years old, she founded the Serbian Women's School in 1857. The initial location was in an area of the city called Varoš (vairosh). The school was later moved to the area known as Bistrik (beestreeck), which is in the far southeastern section of Sarajevo, called "old town." The Bosnian vizier Šerif Osman-pasha contributed 600 coins a month to sustain Staka's school. An unknown sultana also contributed 12,000 coins a year. So for at least the first years of her school, her monthly sustainment from Muslim sources was at least 1,600 coins. Initially the imperial government provided 1,000 coins a month, but how long this sustainment was provided is unknown. Several years later the imperial government subsidized her school with only 7,200 coins a year. This money not only sustained school operations but also paid room and board for poor Serbian girls. This generosity earned her school the reputation as "...a shelter for poor Serbian people."¹⁰⁵

Even though a haven for a few Serbian poor, children of the rich and famous were primary attendants at her school. The daughters of the philanthropic vizier Osman-pasha attended, as did the daughters of Catholics and Jews of the city. Rich Turkish clerks sent their children there too. These children learned sewing and needlework, home-making tasks, and the language skills of reading and writing. Their first teachers were local Sarajevo women who were trained by Staka. As the school grew Staka recruited talented Viennese women to her school who brought different sewing and embroidery tools and books to supplement the basic curriculum that Staka had started. Her student's skills at sewing and embroidery matched the best work of students in European schools, as attested to by the inspections of the foreign consuls of the city. As in so much of life, a significant incongruity would grow up around Staka and her clothes. Although her school stressed skills in beautiful clothes-making, throughout her own adult life Staka wore only a black nuns robe and black kerchief without any of the fancy trimmings or the exquisite needlework typical of the work of her own students.¹⁰⁶

At some point in her young life Staka found it advantageous to convert from her Orthodox faith to Islam. About the same time as her return to Sarajevo from her *hadj* to Mecca, two other women pioneers in education arrived in the city. In 1866, Miss Adeline Irby and Miss Georgina Mackenzie, two Englishwomen, established their own girl's school in the city. Miss Irby's school opened for young girls with four elementary grades, one higher school grade, and three grades in a fledgling teaching school. Eventually the teaching grades would evolve into the first secondary level women's teaching school in Sarajevo. It is certain that there was collaboration and cooperation between Skenderova and Irby to their mutual advantage. Students from Irby's school must have gone on to higher education in Staka's higher grades, which had already been established for a decade.

The Austrian occupation was the beginning of the end for Staka's school. With the

end of Turkish rule their subsidies stopped and Staka could not afford to continue running the school. What is not clear is why Staka's school did not warrant state subsidy by the Austrians. They supported Catholic, Orthodox, and Muslim schools with state money, so it would seem that Staka's school should have been supported to some degree. Regardless, it was to be her legacy to generate a change in the mindset of Bosnians about the education of women. Others perpetuated her pioneering efforts and education for women saw consistent growth over the next century. Female students, however, remained segregated from male students for another century in Bosnian public schools. But even though segregated, the rise in education of women certainly has benefited the nation.

Educational Progress

Even though women began to learn, by the turn of the century and after two decades of AH occupation, the general status of education of the people still lagged. In 1905, about 90 percent of the population could not read or write. But of this percentage, the vast majority of the illiterate were on the land. In the beginning of the first decade of the new century there were over 200 police stations in Bosnia with 2,500 policemen, but only 352 public elementary schools with just 568 teachers involved in teaching the young people of the country.¹⁰⁷ However, as the first rumblings about war began to tremble across Europe, school building in Bosnia was proceeding apace even in the face of the multitude of obstacles ever present in the region. In just a decade the number of public and religious schools, both primary and secondary, had almost tripled. There were, in 1914,

123 Serbian Orthodox primary schools with a little less than 10,000 students enrolled. At this time 28 Roman Catholic primary schools were operating and also two Evangelist schools. But the Moslems had far outpaced their Christian competition in school building. By 1910 there were 1,970 traditional schools with over 64,000 students and 84 reformed schools with 6,500 male students and 10 reformed schools for women with 1,200 female students.¹⁰⁸

The roughly 100 years of significant Austrian influence in Bosnia brought a change in direction for the education systems they found. The religion-based school system was supplemented with a secular system which contributed to the growth, albeit small and insignificant outside the Balkans, into modernity for an otherwise totally agricultural society. Resistance to this growth in the rural and mountainous land was only barely overcome by the support it received in the cities. But grow it did. It grew in the tumultuous period of European history when the forces of nationalism would tear the world apart twice. The Bosnian education system of the Austrian period would produce the new generations which would fight the First and Second World Wars. Many of the students who would fight as soldiers in these wars would have already had significant contact with Russian revolutionaries prior to start of the First World War.¹⁰⁹ These veterans would then generate the next significant course change for Bosnian education systems. They would go to schools run by the imams and Catholic and Orthodox priests with a significant focus on God in the curriculum. They would then create an education system that stated that same God did not exist. They would worship the new gods of communism.

Chapter 4

Education in the Communist Years

During the first few years after the (Second World) war the focus of our work was reparation of destroyed and building new schools, making the teaching cadre rapidly....

But working under such conditions in that period with not well prepared teaching cadre, relying exclusively on the Soviet theory and practice and literally translated textbooks, and neglecting the experience and traditions of former schools we were lead to such phenomena in our education system which became a serious obstacle for further development of the teaching process.

...we should especially stress the success achieved in the critical overcoming of influences of the Soviet practice and textbooks which were dominating before....¹¹⁰

Education in Bosnia has always been fraught with difficulties, even without the influence visited by the Soviets upon the country's education systems. The Russians had had a presence, to one degree or another, in Balkan education systems for most of the previous two centuries. Their influence was apparently not small given the depth to which their texts had penetrated the region's systems.

As we have seen in the previous chapters, the contentious issues of education almost always could be reduced, or directly linked, to three principal subjects: language, religion, and control. The Yugoslavian communists, while trying to shed some of their Soviet past, would find a temporary solution to the religion issue but not the problem of language. The Orthodox and Catholic would continue to argue over the use of Latin and Slavonic tongues while the

Muslims would struggle over Arabic, Persian, and Turkish. Notwithstanding their long-standing linguistic antagonisms, each of these religions shared one common thread throughout their confessional, and public curriculums - a belief and education centered on one God.

Suppression of the centrality of God in the confessional and secular education systems and attempts to control these systems would sway back and forth over the centuries. Civil, secular authorities who thought to dominate the clerics, and their teaching, soon learned they could not. The communists who assumed power after the end of World War Two would also seek to assert their control over the three religion-based education systems. Not only would the communist education system attack the centrality of God in the student's lives, it would also attack the centrality of the student's parents in the process too. The pedagogues who would run the education system would describe parents that had some faith life as being "...burdened with religious prejudice." These same education leaders would ask their citizens if the school could long remain in a "...subordinate role in upbringing of a child, and of the young generation in general?" They had no doubt that when the "...negative influence of the parents prevails...it is...the failure of the school."¹¹¹ Quite naturally, given this approach, a severe distrust by the people of political institutions would emerge and "...this distrust filtered down into the communities and schools themselves, where teachers were often viewed as 'transmission belts' of the state."¹¹² It was a principal task of the education system to enable the school to "...beat back the damaging influence of parents."¹¹³ In order to begin this

demolition process they would simply mandate that there be no God but the god of socialism.

Organization of Schools

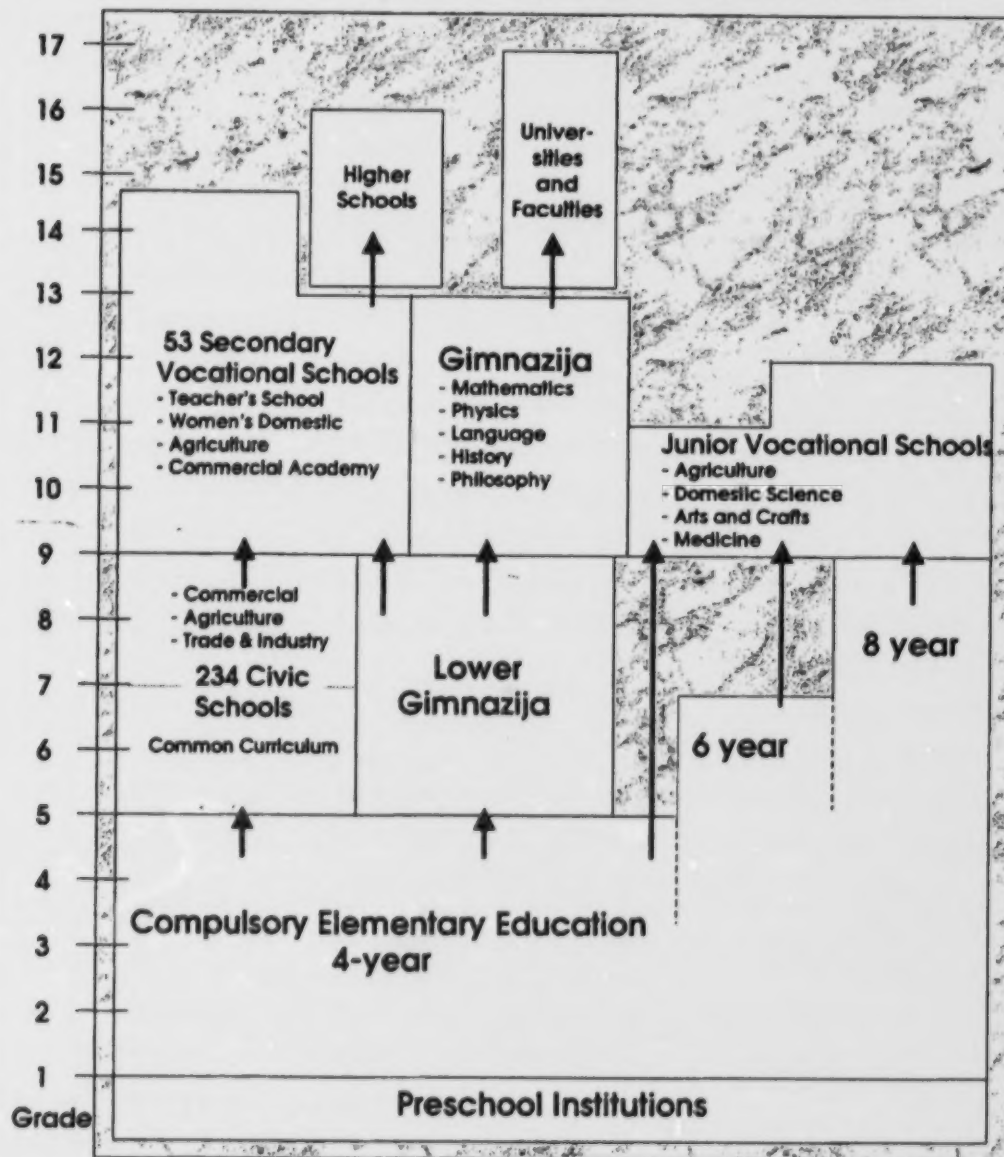
The communists, who would assume control of the education systems in Yugoslavia after World War Two, were born and raised in the turbulent times of rampant inter-world war nationalism. They moved into the fifth decade of the twentieth century consumed with the passion of victory over the Germans coupled with the joys linked to the new found independence of a nation created from the previous Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. The school system they would inherit from the monarchist who ran the country prior to World War Two was organized as shown in Figure 4. As in previous models the general organization and density of type schools is shown and the normal progression from/to each level, depending upon circumstances of location and skills shown in schoolwork. The academic years are shown on the left axis.

This public school organization had evolved over the previous two centuries. The precursor to this secular system had been a religion-based one with the three predominant

confessions of the Balkan region controlling their faithful's educational destiny. Once the Austro-Hungarians occupied the region, they imported their own public school design and laid it in parallel to the confessional school structures. But, after a short period of adjustment when the religious school leaders lost their autonomy to the new secular system, each confession regained control of their own religious schools and a period of relative educational harmony set in. This era of educational good will lasted until the First World War. The inter-war years, however, were not without some educational repression by the monarchists.

The Royal Government in Belgrade was not covert in promoting "...the long term project that favored entirely the national and political orientation of Greater Serbia..."¹⁴ The confessions, which had only recently regained their relative educational freedom, were again in a fight to protect themselves from programs designed to ensure their future demise. The long-term objective of the monarchists in Belgrade was to eliminate religious education, with some special emphasis on the Moslem institutions. The reasons for this repression were neither new, unique to monarchists, nor the Balkans.

Figure 4. School System Organization in Yugoslavia 1938-39



Source: Tomich, Vera Education in Yugoslavia and the New Reform, p.13

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It is never a good thing for those who hold power by force to let those they oppress get too smart. The Ottomans were not very happy when Catholic and Orthodox educated elite (clerics) stirred up the lesser educated - especially when they converted Muslims. The Catholic Austrians were not happy when Orthodox upstarts, educated in their own Austrian-modeled schools, began to agitate for independence. And the Orthodox were always suspicious of the other two, believing they were intent on sinister designs to unseat the Orthodox grip on power. With these age-old animosities working against any substantial progress in any education system, regardless of the sponsor, the rate of educational growth in the Balkans always lagged behind both Western Europe and Western Asia. It is not surprising then that when the communists took power in Yugoslavia in 1945 the illiteracy rate of the region, notwithstanding almost a century of creeping educational progress, was so very low.

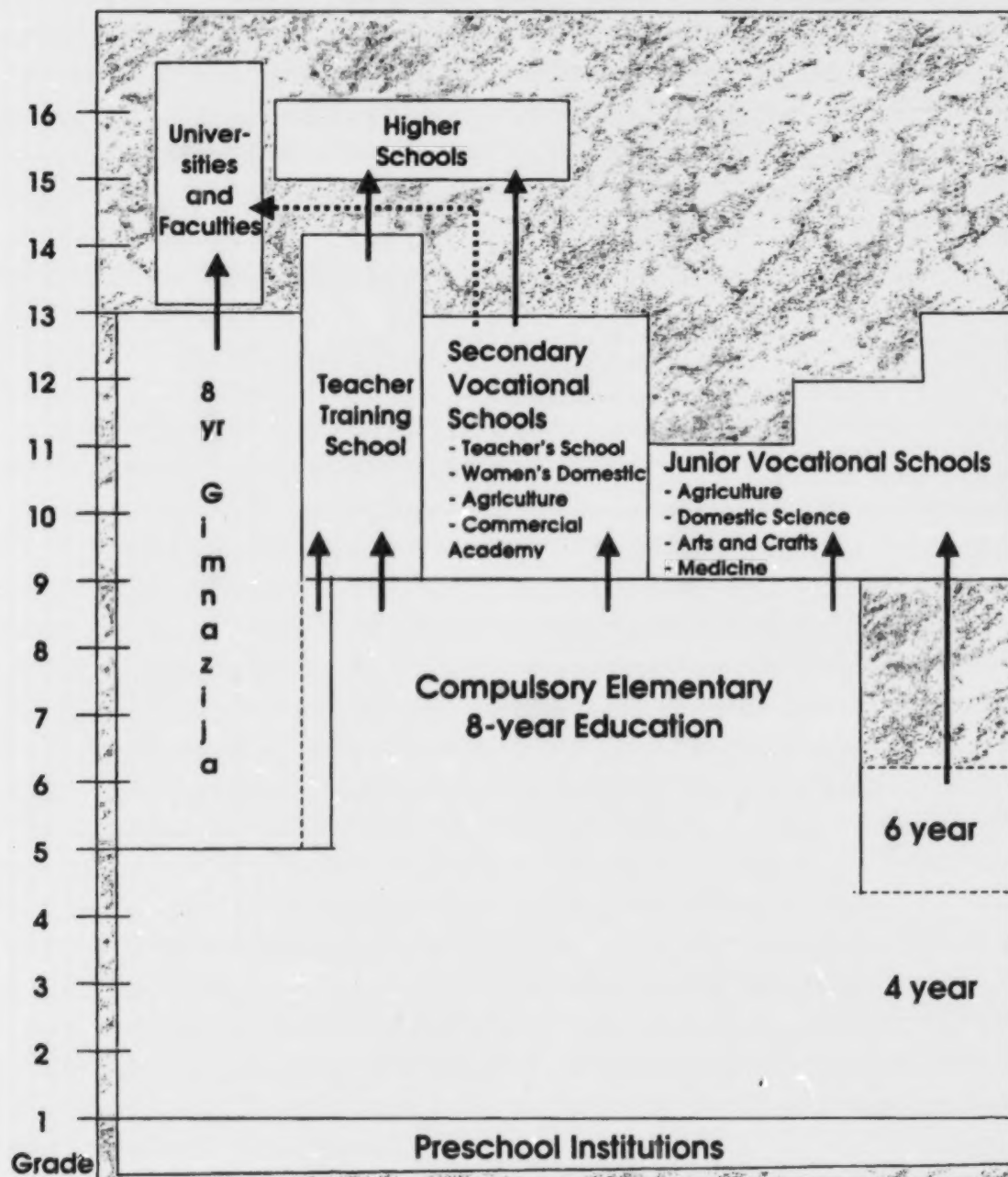
Inherited Education Challenges

Experts disagree about what the illiteracy rate really was in 1945 but some interpolation of the various views is possible. The highest rate given for illiteracy in postwar Bosnia is 70 percent.¹¹⁵ A much more optimistic view is given, maybe intentionally, by the official government statistics for the region showing an illiteracy rate of 55 percent. The difficulty with any accuracy in these numbers is that any census done prior to the late twentieth-century Bosnia must always be suspect. It is not clear

that all the rural population was ever counted let alone the women. The 70 percent illiteracy rate is probably much closer to the truth since the official government figures of post-war Bosnia show that 85 percent of the total population were in the countryside¹¹⁶ - areas traditionally last in any educational investment programs by any ruling power. Suffice to say then that if the communists wanted to achieve some level of educational progress in the region, their task was not small.

There are several contrasting characteristics of the pre-communist and post-war public school model which merit attention prior to further detailed discussion of the communist's work to reform the system. In 1938-9, there were no less than three different versions of compulsory elementary education available in the region. A child in one part of the region might attend a four-year school and then never attend any further schooling of any kind. Another child might attend the six-year model and also end their schooling at that point. The third child, in another area of Yugoslavia, could attend an eight-year elementary school and also stop their schooling at that point. Quite naturally such a mix of elementary schools models would cause significant problems if a child were to move to the region where the eight-year model was in effect and vice versa. This conflict between elementary school models did not necessarily get any cleaner after the communists began their reforms. Figure 5, following previous models, shows the post-World War Two education model with three variants of elementary schools.

Figure 5. School System Organization in Post WW2 Yugoslavia



Source: Tomich, Vera *Education in Yugoslavia and the New Reform*, p.30

The most obvious change is that the predominant primary school model had shifted from the four-year to the eight-year scheme with a much smaller percentage of four-year and six-year models available for the children of Yugoslavia¹¹⁷. It is also clear that only a small percentage of children attending an eight-year elementary school were expected to attend the eight-year gimnazija (high school). Most eight-year elementary school graduates were expected to either attend a vocational school or be a teacher.

The second feature of the transition between the two models is the configuration of the gimnazija. In the pre-war scheme, the gimnazija was divided into a lower and upper school, each four years long. The communists reformed this split gimnazija into a single eight-year gimnazija. Obviously the eight-year model subsumed the learning of the lower gimnazija (our version of a middle school) into the single school model. This change in the pattern between primary and secondary schools, quite naturally, generated confusion in the citizen's minds - and probably not a few pedagogues too. The whole process demanded quite a lot of the eleven year-old student leaving the elementary school. At this point a pre-teen and his family were expected to choose which path to take into the secondary level. The voices of the pedagogues were not silent during this difficult and confusing transition period.

In this problem not enough attention is being paid to the student's transfer from the 4th grade of elementary school into the (5th) grade of high school. That problem, however, has been on the agenda for the last seventy years, and never has anybody tried to solve it.

...so we made an artificial synthesis of two schools (lower and upper gimnazija) which, in the nature of their teaching, differ significantly.

Maybe it is also the current school names that confuse both the students and their parents, and changing the names (from classic and real gimnazija to

a national school) would... probably remove a parent's distrust.

Today we make an eleven year-old child decide if he/she wants to go to a classic or real high school. The fact is, however, that our average child cannot master our programs.

It is insane to make an eleven year-old child decide about going to a classic or real high school.¹¹⁸

Coupled with the doubts of the system administrators over simple things like what the school should be called and whether or not eleven year-olds are ready to make life direction decisions was a more nebulous issue. Did the shift to a compulsory eight-year elementary school mean that that was to be the focus of the educational system's efforts and less effort was required in secondary schooling? Or was the retention of two separate (and probably competing) systems of vocational schools to be the focus - fed by the longer, eight-year elementary system?¹¹⁹ It is not clear which was correct - but there was no doubt about how anybody was to get onto the road to higher education beyond the secondary level.

The route to a university remained mainly open only to graduates of the gimnazija (regardless of length). Figure 5 reveals that the Yugoslavian and Bosnian reformers did open a route to the university from the vocational schools (See dashed line from the Secondary Vocational Schools to Universities and Faculties). But few could move on to it. Before World War Two, there was no university in Bosnia to attend so all students seeking higher education out of the gimnazija went abroad. In 1947, the first university in Bosnia opened - the University of Sarajevo.¹²⁰ This opening enabled Bosnian gimnazija graduates to attend a university in their home region. Further discussion about the roads to higher education in Bosnia follows below. But suffice to say for now that the while the road from elementary school into a gimnazija could be varied (and complicated given the worst case wherein a student might encounter three different elementary school systems and at least two secondary ones), the road

to higher education (and the only university in the country) was primarily a single, very tightly controlled road. This systemic fault would have significant implications for the development of Bosnia and her people.

Taking Control

But the large task ahead for the communists to reform the entire school system could have no competitors. Yugoslavian leaders, like most of the other new communist states of the Balkans, had to attack directly the religion-based schools of the country in order to consolidate their own power. The fastest and most efficient way to do that was to take away their schools. So they did.

One aspect of the nationalization of church properties - viz., the secularization of religious schools - clearly combined the objectives of weakening the institutional role with establishing ideological hegemony of state socialism. In Hungary, 3,150 Catholic schools were nationalized in 1948. In Poland, the state seized control over Caritas, a Catholic organization that operated nurseries, day-care centers, and boarding schools.... Church operated elementary and secondary schools were closed in Romania, Yugoslavia, Albania, and Czechoslovakia with no differential by religious affiliation. The attention paid by communist states to education as a crucial aspect of creating a new society meant that parallel educational systems were rejected.¹²¹

The Muslims were a particularly vulnerable confession. Almost all the mosques, secondary schools, almshouses and Quranic schools in Belgrade were closed during the initial years of communist consolidation of power during the first decade after the end of the Second World War in Yugoslavia. With the closing or seizure of the Muslim schools there was, quite naturally, a migration of teachers and clerics away from Yugoslavia and either back to Turkey or

other European countries which would grant asylum to these displaced pedagogues. Once reestablished in their adopted countries these clerics began to organize themselves and their faithful. They would remember what happened to their schools and mosques. A half century later, by 1990, they would seek redress for their treatment.¹²²

The Catholics fared little better. Priests were put in jail while, during the five-year period from 1945 to 1950, the curtain on all religious instruction was drawn, temporarily. Anyone desiring to publish religious tracts had to get approval from the Belgrade government. One can imagine the success rate of Catholic and Muslim clerics appealing for freedom of the educational press with the Communist (but also predominantly closet Orthodox) leadership in Belgrade.¹²³

The objective of this seizure of confessional property was to eliminate the spiritual competition to the ideological order. It was more important for the new regime to survive than it was to progress as a nation. The central value of the new, approved textbooks was their adulation of socialist principles, not necessarily their value in learning the subject at hand. Since the teachers must send the right message to the student's minds, their work and attitudes in the classroom became the subject of "intense scrutiny" to ensure any of them not fully committed to the pedagogical objectives of the Belgrade leadership could be easily spotted and taken care of.¹²⁴

However, this concerted attack upon the confessions did not last long. By 1953, a noticeable degree of tolerance seems to have entered the ideology of the ruling communist elite. This is due, at least partially, to the desire of the Yugoslavian party leadership to gain, over time, adherents to their non-aligned movement. After breaking with the Soviets, the Yugoslavians sought another direction for communist states, like their own, to gain some international prestige outside the shadow of the Russian bear. They hoped their non-aligned movement would appeal to the third world states emerging from their colonial past and view Yugoslavia as an

ally that did not also come with the obvious baggage that would be attached if the state sought an alliance with the Soviets. They had experienced, up close and personal, the benefits and drawbacks in such a close association with the Russians. They could speak emphatically about the advantages of staying in a non-aligned posture vis-a-vis the Russians. Given this broad objective of gaining adherents it would not be smart to be persecuting Muslims in Yugoslavia while simultaneously seeking alliances with Arab states in the Middle East. At the same time, there was also some sense that it took time to alleviate the tensions with the Catholic and Orthodox churches, especially after the government passed new laws in 1953 guaranteeing "...freedom of conscience and religious belief."¹²³ How significantly this easing of oppression actually affected what was happening in the *confessional* educational systems is not clear. But it did happen.

Educational Standards

What standard of educational performance did the new communist educational elite want their cadre of teachers to seek to achieve in Yugoslavia? Sadly, but not atypically for socialist cultures, the Yugoslavians would opt for a standard best characterized as "dumbing down" everybody versus building everybody up in a phased operation over the next several decades. An example of this approach to "leveling the educational playing field" had significant impact on Slovenia, the northwestern most state of the new republic. After writing a Soviet-style five-year plan that never worked and failed in its even more modest goals, the education system of the region was, naturally, reorganized and standardized. Since it is a standard mantra of socialists that no one can be better than any other person (at least outwardly so) the high pedagogical standards of the Slovenians came under direct assault. Their educational standards had evolved to quite a high state since they shared many common cultural attributes with

their Austrian neighbors to the north. The reorganization and standardization of the education system actually served to lower "...the previously high pedagogical standards maintained in Slovenia to the level sustainable by the rest of the country."¹²⁶ The long-term implications for educational progress of such a system are obvious.

So, what did Bosnians learn under the communist system? The subjects that the communist leadership required be taught in the schools of Bosnia were not substantially different from the previous models used in secular schools of the region. The matrix, in Figure 6, shows the general scheme of curriculum hours for secondary schools in the early communist years. The 1939 Realka Gimnazija curriculum (at left in the figure) was designed primarily for students headed for blue-collar jobs and not the bureaucracy. The 1953 Gimnazija curriculum (at right) is a generic model for all students without discrimination as to eventual work place. The Gimnazija grade level indicators, i.e. V, VI, VII, and VIII, shown below the curriculum titles are shown just above their U.S. equivalent grade levels, i.e. 9, 10, 11 and 12th years of high school. The columns represent the number of class hours dedicated to each subject in one academic week in that particular year of school. The "total" columns reflect the class hours dedicated to that subject across all four years of secondary school. The actual distribution of these hours per day was (and remains today) based on the dependent variables common in all schools; student density, morning or afternoon shift of students, teacher availability, resources, etc.

Figure 6. Table of Curriculum Hours 1939 and 1953

1939 Realka Gimnazija Hours						1953 Gimnazija Curriculum Hours					
High School Grade Level	V	VI	VII	VIII	Total	V	VI	VII	VIII	Total	
U.S. grade equivalent	9	10	11	12		9	10	11	12		
Subjects											
Religion	2	2	2	2	8						
Serbo-Croatian	3	3	3	3	12	4	4	4	4	16	
For Language 1	3	3	3	3	12	3	2	2	2	9	
For Language 2	3	3	3	3	12	3	3	3	3	12	
Latin						2	2	2	2	8	
History	2	2	3	3	10	3	3	3	3	12	
Geography	2	2	1	2	7	3	2	2	2	9	
Natural History	2	3	3		8	2	2		2	6	
Physics			4	4	8		2	2	3	7	
Chemistry	3	2	2		7		2	2	2	6	
Hygiene		1		1	2						
Mathematics	4	4	4	5	17	4	3	4	3	14	
Philosophy								2	2	4	
Geometry	2	2	2	2	8						
Art/Singing				2	2						
Drawing	2	2	1	1	6	2				2	
Physical Education	2	1			3	2	2	2	1	7	
Army Education							2	2	2	6	
Teacher's Class						1	1			2	
Hrs/Wk/Year	30	30	31	31	122	28	29	30	31	118	

A review of the matrix reveals several things. Initially, the eight hours dedicated to religion instruction in 1939 are gone by 1953. Latin is added by 1953 along with Serbo-Croatian and two foreign languages that were also required for study in 1939. Philosophy is also added at the expense of the geometry studied 14 years earlier. Art, singing, hygiene, and natural history hours are sacrificed to make room for the Army Education lessons thought necessary by the new leadership of Yugoslavia. But it is also clear that the overall scope, duration and complexity of the curriculum is essentially unchanged. There is but a two-lesson difference in the ninth year of education in the 1953 model from the 1939 version and no difference between the class hours in the twelfth year.

The overall class load does, however, drop from 122 to 118 classes over the same period. This model for secondary education would remain virtually unchanged for another 50 years with all manner of discussion and arguments for reform of the system also occurring across those 50 years. But one thing that *did* change was the purpose of secondary school.

The addition of the philosophy hours of instruction was not to study the classical philosophers but the philosophy of socialism. The ruling communist elite had specific objectives in mind for these few curriculum hours. The goals of philosophical education were

promoting the intellectual, physical, moral, and aesthetic growth and develop-

ment of citizens in a socialist society and nature.

More pragmatic goals (were)...the inculcation of a love for labor, preparation of the student for useful employment, *creation of a ruling elite* (emphasis mine) for the socialist state, cultivation of the love of the state and its ideals, and provision of free, public, and universal education.¹²⁷

It is in this preparation of the student for useful employment that some of the communist's greatest problems arose in their educational system development.

Education and Work

Preparation for useful employment was supposed to be one of the central goals of the Yugoslavian education system, but the system itself failed to respond to the dynamics of need of an economy moving from an agrarian base to an industrial one. What was required was obvious - skilled workers able to apply problem-solving techniques and innovative solutions to the particular demands of the economy. These skilled workers, experienced in finding answers to the daily problems inherent in any dynamic economy, would then be promoted to managerial positions where they would, in turn, train their subordinates to also display initiative and cleverness in problem-solving. But there was no motive for anyone to act in such a manner.

By the late 1950s and early 1960s, most of the Eastern European countries had begun a shift toward curriculums with more mathematics, and physical and natural sciences. Those students in the vocational fields actually went to work in factories in their specialty for several hours in a week. But the Yugoslavian educational leadership did not follow this direction - they did just the opposite. Just when it seemed most logical to increase vocational and scientific student populations to master the skills needed by a growing economy, the Yugoslavians "...de-emphasized...polytechnical instruction."¹²⁸ Cen-

trally planned and centrally executed economic systems inherently bred complacency. Since everyone was the same, not only was no one responsible, no one cared. So the education system that should have been producing workers to bring the development of the regions promise along at a measured pace, managed to educate young Yugoslavians and Bosnians without teaching the requisite skills to do what was necessary.

Vocational training, which should have created a class of skilled workers able to adjust and modify the economic systems they found in their new work place, did not. The vocational schools remained mired in the traditional apprentice school logic of the previous century that required only a four-year elementary school education to enter. The system did not create a curriculum that held out promise for a good career for skilled workers able to adapt and fix. The vocational schools encouraged those students with any talent at all to avoid work in the field for which they demonstrated some aptitude and to go, instead, into the bureaucrat-laden social science focussed secondary school system - *to create a ruling elite*. The secondary schools "...had not been adapted to contemporary developments in society and science.... "knowledge acquired (there)...retained an encyclopedic character."¹²⁹

This clinging to a lecture/regurgitation pedagogical system, afraid (almost paranoid) of imagination, investigation and innovation by the student produced systemic blockages to progress. When combined with the confusing nature of the control apparatus of education in the Yugoslavia, and especially Bosnia, the system would ensure minimal progress in a time demanding a faster pace. The complications of the transition from three different models of elementary schools into the vocational schools of the country, mentioned earlier and shown in Figure 5, certainly did nothing to ameliorate these problems. It is, therefore, not surprising that the Republic of Bosnia was always behind and would remain behind her neighbor republics throughout the communist period. The country's managerial system for education ensured a

fragmented and disjointed approach unable to encourage progress on a Bosnian, let alone Yugoslavian, level.

Control or Not?

Apparent confusion in education management is no better demonstrated than by the ongoing confusion among scholars about the very nature of the Yugoslavian (and it follows Bosnian) education systems. Did the education systems of these two republics exercise a centralized or decentralized management style in education matters?

In the first decade after World War Two a certain level of centralized control was established across the region. But this honeymoon period did not last long, even as it had not lasted long when the Ottomans (relatively speaking) and the Austrians tried to establish centralized control. After only 22 years of Austrian occupation each of the confessions of Bosnia had won back the educational autonomy it had surrendered to the occupying power. The communists would also relinquish their grip on the confessions educational demands, for self-serving reasons as mentioned earlier. The force of the Constitution of 1953 and follow-on laws passed in 1955 promulgated the principal of social management in the public school domain. This principal provided for "...self-government in the field of education - with local autonomy and decentralized control."¹³⁰

But did the law really allow for local autonomy and decentralized control? It may depend upon where the person was in the hierarchy of the educational food chain that would provide the significant clue to the answer to this question. Teachers in Bosnia certainly perceived there was centralized control. One music teacher from Orašje (in north-central Bosnia) said that, in the 1970s, when he was teaching his elementary school children what an octave was, there was absolutely no doubt in his mind that his fellow music teacher in Mostar (southern Bosnia) was doing exactly the same thing at

the same time on the same day. Another chemistry teacher from Goražde (eastern Bosnia) said the same thing. If it was Tuesday at 9:30 AM., in the first semester of chemistry, and the subject was atomic weights, he knew his counterpart in Banja Luka (western Bosnia) was teaching the same thing. At least that must be what they told each other when these teachers gathered every summer in July and August at the beautiful Yugoslavian Adriatic beaches to hold their annual education seminars. And for the teachers it is believable that they would not challenge the system that employed them since deviation, or questioning of authority, was surely a career ending move. The actual level of influence of the Communist Party apparatus in promoting and sustaining this view of an all-seeing centralized authority with a web of informants across the country calling in their daily observations is not clear. But it was surely there. But did this centralized authority really exist and intend to act? The scholars are split on the question. There are obviously two camps - one saying yes that the whole system was centralized and the other saying it was not. First the centralized camp.

In 1996 two scholars, commenting upon the nature of university reforms in post-communist countries that it was the institutional management practices of the

...previous regimes (that) have left (the universities) the weakest. It is an area made more difficult by the fact that the *suspicion of centralized management left over from the previous regimes* (emphasis mine) militates against introduction of the new structures which the universities so desperately need.¹³¹

It is not important contextually what it is that these two scholars think that post-communist universities need. What is important is their direct statement that the centralized management of universities by the communist education systems existed and generated deep suspicion. Supporting these scholars, another wrote in 1997 about the conditions of pre-civil

war education in Bosnia. This scholar said that "prior to the (civil) war, the educational system was centralized and required limited amount of policy, planning, and financial management work at the local level."¹³² Scholars in the World Bank took up this chant in May 1999. They reported that

As in all institutions, schools (in socialist countries) were administered according to centralized input norms. This left little authority to individual institutions or teaching staff to shift resources in response to local priorities.

The World Bank has assisted (education)... ministries...by reducing central control and transferring educational decision-making and administration responsibilities to local authorities.¹³³

But did this central authority really exist? Other scholars disagree. Researchers writing in the late 1970s allow for a different vision of this issue. They wrote that

unlike the rest of Eastern Europe, Yugoslavia's educational structure is extremely decentralized....and educational responsibilities are diffused throughout the republics and self-management councils.

Yugoslavia has taken the principal of decentralization to such an extreme that every single school is managed directly by its own teacher's council, principal, and school committee.

The only government interference comes in defining the duties of the various units.¹³⁴

At about this same time (1981) the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development would conclude research saying the same thing.

...under the new order, devolution of responsibility and authority away from the central government is complete. Except for the quite special functions of education of the armed forces and of interna-

tional liaison, the federal administration is irrelevant to what goes on in education.¹³⁵

It is possible that the different levels of schooling had imposed different levels of authority. Did, perhaps some degree of centralized control exist at the higher levels of schooling (since there were so few of these kind institutions) but less control at the secondary and lower levels (being far more of them and farther away from centers of power)? And was this kind of control limited only to assignment and promotion of teachers proving their loyalty to the Communist Party and the rest just didn't matter? The scope of national control at the local level was probably significantly more limited given the very nature of the rugged geography of the region and the remoteness of the rural schools. Another scholar, writing in 1998 reveals a clue to this possibility.

During the communist period, education in Yugoslavia was decentralized....managed at four levels: the Federation, the Republic, the district (or canton), (and) the community. Local schools had four types of organization to aid in the operation of the school: a school council consisting of teachers, parental representatives, students and representatives of ...trade unions; a school management board consisting of teachers elected by the staff; a council of teachers to deal with school issues; and teachers at each grade level and ...discipline (were also organized).¹³⁶

This multi-layered system of control at the local level (math teachers organized for their own control?) fits the general scheme of management (of anything) after 1974 in Yugoslavia when Tito introduced the "self-management"¹³⁷ system to the country. This self-management system was designed to empower decision-making to the leadership of organizations at the local level, ostensibly aware of, and able to adjust to, the realities of local conditions - both for management and labor. For example, the presence of the local trade union representative

on the local school council was to link the vocational training in the school with the realities of the factory work requirements. Students would be trained in the theoretical aspects of their future work (electricity, hydraulics, etc) and then spend time in the local factory or plant applying those skills as an apprentice of sorts. Centralized control over self-management schemes at the local level would then seem redundant and unnecessary. If there is some doubt about the level of control at the secondary level, did the centralized authority then apply to the higher schools? It does not appear that centralized control was any greater at this level than that exercised at the secondary level.

In the higher education systems of Bosnia and greater Yugoslavia, probably throughout the communist period, centralized authority over the higher schools and universities was allegedly weak. Given the force of a (albeit badly written) five-year plan, certainly some level of central control had to be imposed to ensure the proper higher education schools graduated the proper number of qualified, and politically loyal, people to implement the plan. But even within the universities and colleges, the staff of various faculties and departments apparently exercised significant power over their own administrators and led a life with little centralized control of their business. This is consistent with the atmosphere in the secondary and lower schools where significant autonomy was exercised. Therefore, it is safe to say that there existed a significant amount of decentralized control at the local level, regardless of the level of the school, as compared to the "...relatively weak position of the ministry (of education)..."¹³⁸

Other Forces at Work

Besides the systemic influences contributing to a decentralized control of education, there are significant cultural forces contributing to it also. The first force at work here was motivational. If a people are raised by their parents, and taught by their teachers, to never

seriously question anything they are told, then when one becomes a teacher, one would never bother to ask if the sanctions, available to a centralized authority, to be applied against pedagogical deviants were really intended to be applied. Such a people would, quite naturally, believe that sanctions would be applied - because the centralized authority, their parents, and the teachers said so. The people would continue to believe this even if, at the centralized level ostensibly empowered to impose sanctions on the non-compliant, that centralized authority *never intended* to do anything of the kind. But as long as the people *believed* that the sanctions would be imposed (but did not know that they would not), then the people would remain subservient and compliant. Which is, of course, what the ruling elite wanted. The forces driving ideological unity can be as powerful as any force in human dynamics. When the people perceive that "...the prescription of ideas from above, is the holy of holies, and that factionalism in the party is the greatest of all crimes,"¹³⁹ then there is strong basis for believing that such deviance will be punished immediately even when the elite above have no intention of punishing anybody. Communism would inculcate a sense of fear of potential transgression in the people - and they would have to demonstrate constantly that they are not an enemy of socialism. Such a system would assure a *perception* of strong centralized control yet allow for decentralized control and execution within the overall education systems.

The second factor at work against a true ability to govern centrally, are the cultural forces from the previous 300 years. The Ottomans never tried to impose any significant centralized control over schools as long as they got their taxes. The Austro-Hungarians realized early on that rigid, centralized control was less profitable than allowance for local control of confessional education. So they gave in and returned to the clerics their local autonomy in confessional education matters. The communists, near the end of the first decade after World War Two, learned this lesson again and finally had to relinquish somewhat their control

(but certainly not all) over the confessional schools and let them exercise some local autonomy they had fought for, lost and regained twice in the previous several centuries. Therefore it is clear that while a state-level centralized apparatus was in place, with a functioning inspectorate, the true authority and power over secular education remained at the local level. Even the official publication of the government of Bosnia (by 1983) admits to an inability to control the education process.

Organizations in the field of education...are not regulated by market principles or by state administration. Rather the needs of the working people in these spheres are satisfied through the free exchange of labor, which they realize by direct negotiations through the organizations of associated labor, or through institutions specially formed for these purposes - self-management communities of interest.¹⁴⁰

These self-management communities of interest were, obviously, a simple solution by the communists to enable the various socio-religious groups which had long been *only* interested in their own self-management anyway, to retain their long-held autonomy yet get some return from their work efforts at the republic and state level.

Concurrently, by the mid-1980s, with a decade of self-management under their belts, there began the gradual disintegration of the ideological hegemony of the Yugoslavian communist rulers over their own citizens. The forces of freedom were at work around the globe exposing communism for the fraud that it was - and remains today. The communist political systems were rapidly losing the ability to maintain the facade and deceit necessary to fool an *increasingly educated populace*. The growing interconnectivity of world communications and economic systems led to "...a complete breakdown of the attempt to create a legitimate basis for communist rule. As the political structure began to weaken, other institutions stepped into the breach, including, predominantly, the churches."¹⁴¹ This is not surprising.

Ecclesiastical Rebound

The confessions, although somewhat dormant in the communist period, had not gone away. They had continued, in varying degrees to run their own schools, with some tolerance from the ruling elite in Belgrade. This does not mean that suppression of the clerics had ended - it had not. The Moslem teachers had maintained their own education system relatively intact in the face of an atheistic government that renounced God's presence in the public lives of its people. There must have been, however, some growth in the Moslem system since in 1987 the communists imposed penalties on over 4,000 Moslem families for allowing their children to study in Islamic schools which were operating in the mosques. There was also a typically inane communist plan to prohibit the teaching of the religion of Islam to children under the age of 15.¹⁴² Whether that plan went anywhere is not clear. But what is clear is that notwithstanding the pressures of an atheistic government for 40 years, the Muslim clerics, as always did not give up.

The Orthodox Church did not give up either. In the decade from 1984 to 1994 the Orthodox Church managed to regain some vestige of its previous status and standing. Rebuilding of churches began in this period and, in 1990, Christmas was celebrated publicly without a significant reaction from Belgrade. In the same year, Slobodan Milosević would grant an audience to the Serbian Orthodox Bishops who demanded that religious instruction be re-introduced into all primary and secondary school the next academic year. Milosević prohibited this. He did allow that the study of the communist religion called Marxism would be taken out of the public school curriculums in 1991.¹⁴³

The Catholics were not far behind the Orthodox. In Croatia, by 1992, the public schools systems integrated religious instruction into their curriculum. The Slovenian education ministers, in this same period of religious revitalization, tried to maintain a fragile separation between the teaching of religion and secular

subjects by requiring an hour's separation between secular and religious instruction.¹⁴⁴ But the forces of all three religious education systems (Orthodox, Muslim, and Catholic) were on the rise and they have not stopped in their efforts since.

Developments in Higher Education

The clerics of the Balkans had always been instrumental in the development of primary and secondary education systems in Bosnia. They had also been involved in the development of college and university level education. This level of education was comparatively new to the Balkans. By the time the first full university level institution had been founded in Sarajevo in 1947, Oxford and the University of Paris were both over 600 years old and there were over 1,000 four-year universities in America. This late start, and the momentum of the previous developmental processes that drove the public school system, would ensure that the nature of university education in Bosnia (and the rest of Yugoslavia for that matter) would be significantly different from such development in the west.

Three other universities preceded the University of Sarajevo in Yugoslavia: The University of Zagreb (present day Croatia) was founded in 1879, the University of Belgrade (present-day Serbia) in 1905, and the University of Ljubljana (present day Slovenia) in 1919.¹⁴⁵ Three other universities would be founded in Bosnia many decades after the University of Sarajevo. The University of Banja Luka was the second university established in 1974, the University of Tuzla followed in 1975, and the University of Mostar in 1977.¹⁴⁶ An Islamic College was also begun in Sarajevo in 1977 to educate imams.¹⁴⁷ What are the origins of these universities in Bosnia - where did they come from?

As with the primary and secondary school systems of Bosnia, the systems of higher

education evolved, to some degree, from the three confessions of the region. None of the three religious-based systems created a higher level education process that can be precisely characterized as similar to what we know as higher, college-level education of today. But for their time and purpose they all can be considered precursors.

Since the soldiers in the first corps of teachers of the youth of the Balkans were clerics, it can be simply stated that the first institutions of "higher" education in Bosnia were the theological institutions built to train them. These theological institutions were a natural progression from the small, cell schools that were the primary form of clerical education for Christian priests in the tenth through eighteenth centuries. The emergence of higher, confessional-based, education systems was most pronounced in the late nineteenth century. The Franciscans, seeming always to be first in the region, built their Theological Schools in Fojnica (foyneetsa) and Kreševo (kreshovo) around 1851. The Sarajevo Diocesan Theological School opened in 1890, with the Mostar school following five years later in 1895. The Orthodox Theological School opened in 1882 near Sarajevo. The Muslim School for Sharia Law followed in 1887. In 1937, this theological school became the Higher Islamic Sharia Law College with its teachers recognized as having the same academic status as university professors in the colleges of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.¹⁴⁸

While these embryonic institutions of "higher" learning taught at a level above the secular and religious secondary schools of the time and region, they were not universities - there was not a single true university in Bosnia until after World War Two. In the twenty years prior to that war only about 1,000 Bosnians left the secondary school system for a university education - all of them outside Bosnia.¹⁴⁹ How many of them actually completed this education and returned to Bosnia is unknown, but if the record of their successors is any indication, there were probably few. In 1980, the OECD

would report on the state of higher education in Yugoslavia that the

largest slaughter in institutions of higher education occurs at the end of the first year of studies. Some 40 percent, and in some faculties a higher proportion, fail to jump this hurdle and either dropout or repeat the year. Over half of those who enter drop out at some point....¹⁵⁰

Perhaps the students who went to college and university-level schooling in pre-World War Two conditions did not have to compete under the same circumstances and conditions as their counterparts in later decades. The whole purpose of higher education in the communist period was devoted to one purpose - the sustenance and advancement of the agenda of the Communist Party. In fact there were actually two types of "university" education available to the public after World War Two. But just as the origins of the Bosnian public schools of higher education were rooted in the clerical institutions of the prewar years, so too the origin of the "People's Universities" was rooted in the prewar communist movements. These "People's Universities" emerged in the early years of the twentieth century.

The first people's university was formally established in Sarajevo in 1923 and was "...linked to the rise of the progressive movements and the (communist) parties in Yugoslavia." The principal objective of these universities was to boost the rate of adult literacy coupled to technical and vocational training in the face of the emerging demands of modernity. The development of this otherwise laudable system of adult education (in a country with significant illiteracy problems) was clouded and confused by a significant battle for control of the curriculum. The two opponents in this struggle were the worker's leadership organs coupled with the leadership of their own trade unions (to which these newly educated adults would be sent to work) and the bourgeoisie. The former group was under the control of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY). The

latter group, of course, was under the control of the people who owned the businesses. But the principal purpose of these universities was not economic, but ideological.¹⁵¹

In their initial (prewar) stages these "universities" were simply gatherings by the local populace to hear lectures. These lectures sought to promote basic literacy and but also, more importantly, to deliver propaganda for the CPY. Their curriculum, in the first years, was "...primarily directed at the ideological, political, and socio-economic education of workers...then to provide professional education..."¹⁵² These universities "...were gradually transformed (during and after the Second World War) from lecture series to permanent forms of work," and by 1958 had developed into "...independent institutions engaged in integrated adult education. By 1966 "...there were 98 worker's and people's universities in Bosnia." It is interesting that by this same time there was but one academic true university in the country - Sarajevo University. The priority for higher education in Bosnia could not have been clearer - perpetuating the legitimacy of the ruling Communist Party among the uneducated during their education process.

It is not clear if the Universities of Sarajevo, Banja Luka, Tazla and Mostar had their origin in one of these people's universities, but it is certainly very likely that they did. The ability for anybody to create any new institution of higher learning without the controls (to some degree) of the Communist Party applied to it is very doubtful. But whether the party could "control" the institution after it was created is another issue. With the exception of the requirement to pledge party loyalty, the level of control was perhaps confined to approving entrance and promotion of teachers and professors but not content. What is not in doubt is what characterized higher education in Bosnia in the communist period. The characteristics of Bosnian higher education were identical to the rest of higher education in the Balkans - "Higher education in Eastern Europe was and (today) remains elitist."¹⁵³

This elitist nature of the university systems in the Balkans stems directly from the control required by the Communist Party to ensure only the most loyal of their followers were educated and placed into the right positions of leadership. From 1945-1965

...there was strict planning imposed on those who could continue their studies. Those students who qualified as ideologically loyal to the political systems were given a chance to choose the faculty or academy in the university of their own preference. Others were simply ordered to enroll in the disciplines that had not been filled in....¹⁵⁴

This systemic fault in the Communist program would not subside for the next two decades - it might have even have become worse. In the 1980s, the "inherited dualism" in secondary and higher education always favored the rich and politically connected and perpetuated a caste system among the very people for whom the caste structure was supposed to die away.¹⁵⁵ Besides perpetuating class antagonisms, this systemic fault never managed to provide the right kind of workers needed in a growing economy that might have otherwise been able to progress at a stronger and more productive pace. Jobs that should have been filled with some of the best and brightest, if they had just been able to get *into* the university system, were unfilled and the industries and agriculture that needed this talent went without. No amount of enlightened centralized planning could possibly accurately predict the emerging job requirements, even in a centralized system led by college graduates of the best universities of the region.¹⁵⁶

The Yugoslavian Communist secondary and higher level system of education lasted less than 50 years. After an initial post-war period of oppression against the confessional systems of the region, in order to consolidate their control over the entire education system, a period of relative educational harmony began in the early 1950s. This period lasted until about

1990 when the subterranean cracks in the Yugoslavian Republic began to surface, spread and dramatically weaken the state. The cracks could not be repaired since the time had come for an illogically configured state to finally come apart. The Yugoslavian Communists could no longer control the pressures that configuration imposed on her people, culture and governmental systems. The education system they built would, in no small, part contribute to the fracturing.

The Communists inherited and then perpetuated an educational system that exacerbated class and ethnic divisions - rather than ameliorate them. The single exception to this program of division and class warfare was the enlightened decision to end the sexual segregation of their public schools beginning in 1953. This process would take several years to complete with the schools in Sarajevo being among the last to fully integrate their schools and classes.¹⁵⁷ The education system, by its very design, promoted only the elite and politically loyal (and their children) into the governmental bureaucracies which were deemed the only acceptable work for the smart graduates of the secondary and higher level schools. When this process is combined with the ancient ethno-religious biases built into the culture - largely favoring Orthodox Serbs over everyone else, the class divisions and distinctions were heightened and illuminated on an almost daily basis.

Rather than promoting an atmosphere of tolerance and cooperation among the republics and their people, the decentralization of power to the regional educational centers, when coupled with the inherent class divisions of a communist system and the ethno-religious nature of these regions, actually promoted intolerance and corruption in all systems, especially education. Power naturally flows to those who win. The Communists won the Second World War in the Balkans. They would lose the next wars in the Balkans thanks in no small part to the very design of the systems, especially civilian and military schools, they put in place to ostensibly keep the republic together. But while it is highly probable that the Communists "lost" the

civil war of the 1990s, it is almost certain that they *did not* give up the power.

Chapter 5

Military Education Systems in Bosnia

For most of the 1980s, The Yugoslavian People's Army (YPA) was considered the strongest unifying institution in the country. The military played a fundamental role in preventing the dissolution of the federal state after the death of Tito and the dramatic rise of ethnic tensions.... Nationalist movements in several regions of the country posed the most immediate threat: to many observers, ethnic strife complicated the YPA missions of defending against external threats and *suppressing internal ones*. (emphasis added) ¹⁵⁸

Almost all nations have at least two parallel education systems, one dedicated to training young people to work to build the nation and the other to train them to fight to defend it. Since Bosnia was always a substate in the greater Balkan region, most of the evolution of military schooling in Bosnia follows the developments in the superior state - be it the Ottomans, Austrians, Monarchists in Belgrade during the interwar years, or the military leadership of Communist Yugoslavia. And, as is common throughout history, while the military was, in fact, a sort of "unifying" institution, it was simultaneously, the source of power that would be used, by those interested in exacerbating ethnic tensions toward nationalist goals - to destroy the country.

The Nineteenth Century

Apparently no formal military education system existed in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) prior to 1873. This small country is so rugged and difficult to move across that the mainte-

nance of a standing army, be it of foot or horse, was, and remains today, expensive. Prior to 1878, as long as the subservient farmers of the region paid their taxes there was very little reason for the sultans in Istanbul to bother maintaining a significant military presence in Bosnia during the Ottoman Empire. When periodic rebellion did break out, a military force was assembled (either locally or in Turkey) and rode into the countryside to subdue the malcontents.

The formation of a professional army in the Ottoman Empire's military structure inside Turkey would ultimately lead to the need for a school to train local officers for the army units in Bosnia. In 1830 Sultan Mahmud established in Istanbul a military preparatory school which would feed his new military academy. These formal military schools were a calculated response to the growing influence of modernity and machinery on the art of war. The Ottoman model of military school was designed to accept students who had completed at least four years of elementary school and their middle grades, 5-8. Young men then attended the military academy for the equivalent of their grades 9-12.

It would be another half-century before the Ottomans decided to build a military school in Bosnia. In 1873, the Ottomans built their first such preparatory military school and academy in Bosnia. This was possible only after suppression of local Bosnian resistance to a proposal to introduce, in 1834, a standing, professional army in the country. The reaction of the populace to such an idea is certainly understandable since the strongest and brightest young men of the region had been carried off to Istanbul for over 400 years to serve in the Sultan's Jannissaries. The establishment of a standing professional army would only mean that more

Bosnian young men would then be conscripted into the proposed standing army. But, eventually the resistance was suppressed and the introduction of a regular army began in 1864. In order to provide well-trained officers to lead this new army, a military preparatory boarding school's foundation was laid in Sarajevo in 1872, opening its doors on 19 September 1873.¹⁵⁹

The first school teachers for this Bosnian academy came from the Ottoman Military Academy in Istanbul; a principal, one language teacher for Arabic, Persian and Turkish, one teacher for geography and history, and one for mathematics. As the school's curriculum expanded teachers were added for drawing, calligraphy, French language and physical training.¹⁶⁰

Entrance requirements for attendance at the military school were not severe, the main issue being language. This proves that the overriding influence of language as a *discriminator* between people crossed boundaries of the three significant educational systems in the region - confessional, secular and military. The entrance examination to the fledgling military preparatory school focussed solely on the ability to speak and write Turkish and Persian. All prospective cadets had to have completed the *ruždija* (or Ottoman middle school) and have their doctor attest to their health. The entrance requirements were tightened in the school's second year of existence. Besides a working knowledge of the Persian and Turkish languages, a candidate had to know Arabic grammar and syntax. Age limits were imposed also. A student could be no younger than 12 nor older than 15 to start the first year of the military school. By 1877 the school had 19 cadets enrolled, all of whom, upon completion went on to attend the military academy in Istanbul. The next year, 1877, saw 25 young Bosnians enroll with but 10 deciding to go to the higher academy in Istanbul in July 1878.¹⁶¹

After the occupation by the Austro-Hungarian (AH) empire in 1878, the XV Austrian Corps of the AH occupation army assumed control of the same building and rebuilt the school into an Austrian model. The military

school had the same status as a civilian lower real (high) school. Austrian entrance requirements were similar to those of the Ottoman administrators. After successful graduation from the fourth grade of the compulsory four-year elementary school, a boy could enter the military school at age 10-12 for the fifth grade, 12-13 for the sixth, 12-14 for the seventh, and 13-15 for the eighth grade.

All instruction was in German using textbooks that were brought in from Austria. The military school did not charge for school materials. The school was rich with library books, having 650 available for the teachers and 250 for the students. The natural science laboratories were quite well outfitted with 600 pieces in the physics lab, 350 in the natural history (biology) lab and drawing/graphics materials also well stocked.¹⁶²

By the 1913/1914, the school had 96 students. This population was spread among 60 Catholics, 18 Orthodox, 10 Moslems, one Eastern-rite Catholic, five Protestants and two Jews. The faculty had grown to 18 in total with 13 secular teachers and 5 clerics. The school did not survive the start of the First World War. It was closed soon after hostilities began, the Austrian focus being redirected toward the west. But the Bosnian youth with some promise for military careers were transferred to military schools in Austria.¹⁶³ The school curriculum is shown in Figure 7.

Figure 7. 1879 Military Preparatory School

Bosnian Grade Level		I	II	III	IV	Total
US grade equivalent		5	6	7	8	
Subjects						
Religion		1	1	1	1	4
Serbo-Croatian		2	2	2	2	8
For Language 1	German	5	6	6	6	23
For Language 2	French		3	3	3	9
History		3		3		6
Geography			3	3	3	9
Natural History		2	2			4
Physics				2	3	5
Chemistry					2	2
Mathematics		3	3	3	3	12
Geometry			3	3	3	9
Writing		2	2	1	2	7
Art/Singing		2	2	2	2	8
Drawing		3	3	3	3	12
Physical Education*		4	4	4	4	16
Hrs/Wk/Year		27	34	36	37	134

*Note. Physical education was divided between eight classes of gymnastics and eight classes of swordplay. The students also took part in swimming and skiing. Those hours are not reflected in the table

There would apparently be no further effort at military schooling in Bosnia during the inter-war years. At the end of World War II, the new communist regime, which then controlled Bosnia, embarked upon a new program for reestablishing the military school component of their overall education system.

The Communist Years: 1945-1992

Immediately after the end of World War II the Soviet Union offered to train Tito's victorious, but small, 400,000-man army. His army had grown from a singularly focused group of unconventional warfare units into an essentially conventional army with corps headquarters and brigades with artillery, etc. Tito rejected the Soviet offer "...because they were dissatisfied with the quantity and quality of the Soviet military assistance." Instead Tito turned to the

United States. Beginning in 1948 and through 1955, the United States of America provided \$600 million in military grants and another \$600 million in economic assistance. In 1951, he invited a Military Assistance and Advisory Group to Belgrade that began to assist his maturing military system with grants and arms sales. This Assistance Group lasted until 1961 and provided another \$1 billion in military aid.¹⁶⁴ This would be the extent of direct U.S. involvement in training and equipment support for the republics of Yugoslavia until 1996.

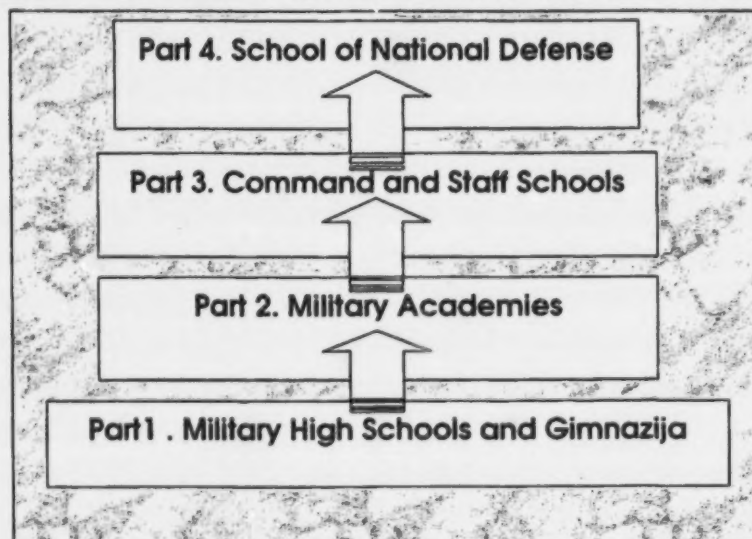
Since 1945 the military education system in the Yugoslavian People's Army (*Jugoslovensku narodnu armiju* - JNA) had developed into four principal components. Contextually, the JNA, even though called the *army*, comprised all the services of the military.

The first part of the four-part system was a secondary school system for educating noncommissioned officers (NCOs) and officer cadets. The second, college-level part trained the recently graduated high school cadets to

become new lieutenants in the military. The third level was a mid-career college for middle grade officers, usually preparing them for higher staff positions in divisions and corps. The final

stage was a senior college system for selected officers destined for the highest ranks in the JNA. Graphically, the four-part system is shown below in Figure 8.

Figure 8. Organization of Yugoslavian Army Military School System



Education of Noncommissioned Officers and Junior Officers

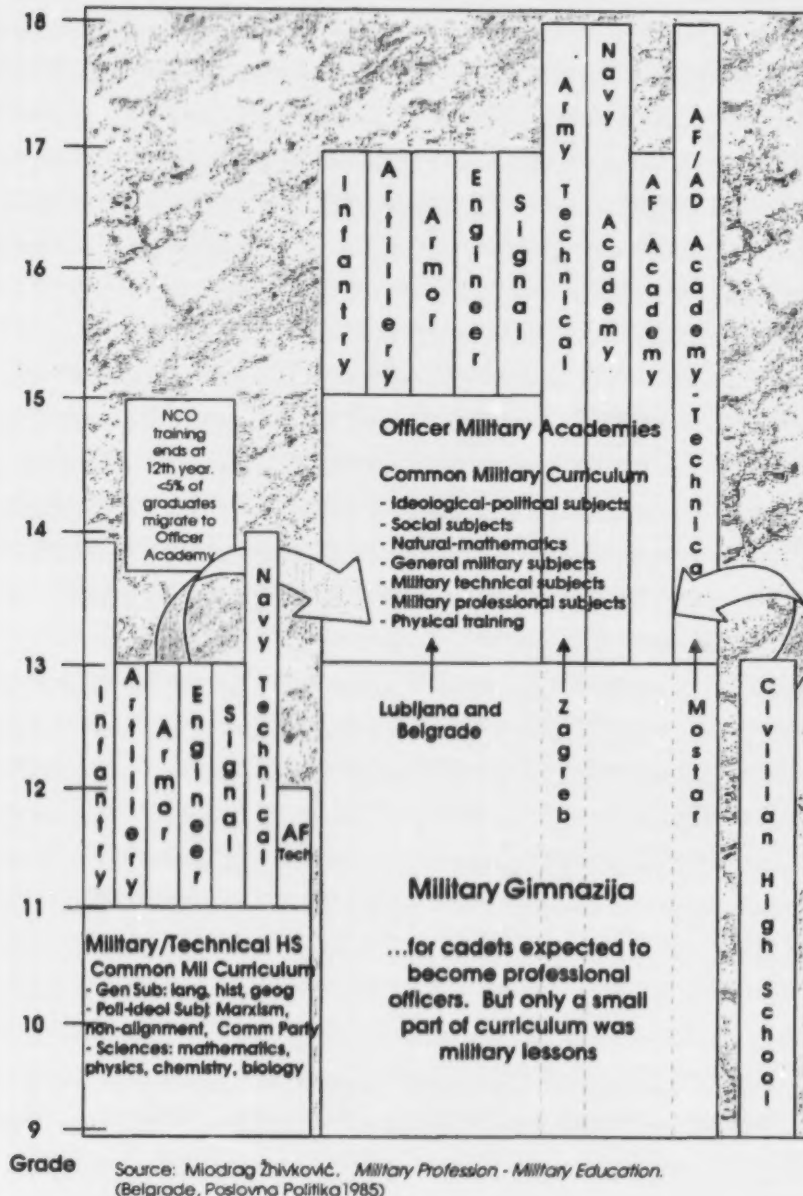
The first level of the military education system was to train new Noncommissioned Officers (NCOs) and junior officers. This level was organized as shown in Figure 9. This figure is organized essentially the same way as the previous models with a few exceptions that require some amplification.

Three secondary school systems fed the education program for junior officers and NCOs. Supposedly the smallest contributor were the civilian high schools, therefore the small column for that system is shown at the right of the model. Those secondary schools fed the military program after the students graduated from their senior (12th) year of school. Candidates

for education in the NCO ranks could attend a Military and Technical High School for two years, shown at the right in the model, and then proceed to their actual field of expertise at the Infantry, Artillery, Armor, etc. If they showed promise it was possible for these potential soldiers to migrate to the officer education track when completing the 12th or 13th (for Infantry and Navy Technical candidates) year of that secondary system. For the majority of junior officer students, their path started at the Military Gimnazija (center column) and then they progressed into the appropriate Military Academy (college) for their skill. These academies lasted 4 or 5 years as the model shows.

The challenges and tasks involved in these various education tracks will be discussed in detail in the following pages.

Figure 9. Organization of Training System for Junior Officers and NCOs



Source: Miodrag Živković, *Military Profession - Military Education*. (Belgrade, Poslovna Politika 1985)

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Military Gimnazija

By 1985, the secondary level military schools in the JNA had fully developed into two distinct components. The officer cadets who were expected to serve a professional military career attended a military gimnazija. This high school held higher status than the second method of high school training that was called either a military high school or a military technical high school. The military gimnazija's were specialty focussed with the gimnazijas in Ljubljana and Belgrade training Army lieutenants for Army combat and combat support units. The military gimnazija located in Zagreb trained Army lieutenants for the army technical (combat service support) branches. The military gimnazija in Mostar trained young officers for the Air Force and Air Defense technical branches. NCO training was similar.

There were two ways a soldier (conscript) could become an NCO. First, after a conscript finished basic training in a regionally based training center, that conscript's commander could recommend a young soldier attend an NCO school. The second method was for those young men, who were not conscripts, but interested in becoming an NCO, could apply directly from civilian life to the particular Army school that taught the skills in which the young man was interested.¹⁶⁵ The military and technical high schools prepared these young men to be an NCO leader for assignment as junior leaders in combat units and the various non-combat institutions and technical services of the armed forces.¹⁶⁶ All of these schools also had a secondary mission to conduct sustainment training, as well as new equipment training, etc., for the currently serving cadre members of the JNA.¹⁶⁷

The general goals of the education system in military high schools was to develop the many-sided personalities of the future JNA leaders and inculcate a sense of duty, service, and dedication. The JNA, through this system sought "...younger officers with high moral and psycho-physical characteristics who are military-

professionally capable of doing adequate jobs in the armed forces in peace and in wartime."¹⁶⁸

Note the emphasis here that the JNA put on the psycho-social characteristics of their proteges. The objective of building the "psycho-social" aspect of young people has not been a common goal in western armies, or at least it is not common to those who have served in the last century or so. The most recent wave of maneuvers by politicians to use the military as a social issue test bed is only evident in the last decade of this century. So it is entirely possible that a researcher could find the need for building the "psycho-social" capability of young leaders present in the rhetoric of western armies today. But it has not always been so. For the JNA, it was a part of their rhetoric since the end of World War Two. In order to build this sort of character in their junior leaders, the following goals were established. The JNA believed their military high school students (either future NCO or officer) should:

- master the fundamental knowledge and skills that enables development of a young JNA soldier with high military-professional and moral-political qualities;
- acquire the knowledge, skills and capabilities that enable the soldier to meet the initial duties in units and institutions of armed forces, assist in his further formal education and also his own self-education;
- be capable and ready, "...according to their knowledge and general Marxist and military-professional education, political maturity, methodical training and psycho-physical readiness, both in peace and wartime,"¹⁶⁹ to successfully lead, command, and do the professional-specialist jobs in their units to assist in achieving the nation's national defense goals.

To meet these goals the military high schools were organized with a curriculum that focussed on training of cadets for duty at squad and platoon level. The curriculums covered the fundamentals of a general secondary-level education and the basic military knowledge required

to begin to assimilate as a soldier, seaman, or airman. The basic subjects were very similar to those found in civilian high schools. These subjects were general literacy, exercises in oral expression and communicating ideas, mathematics and the natural, history, especially military history - geography, languages - German and English being mandatory.

Organization of the System

Since the JNA was organized into three primary branches; the Army, Navy and the Air Force and Air Defense branch, the schools followed that model too. There was a small Marine Corps component of about 900 that focussed on operations on the Adriatic coast¹⁷⁰. Marines normally serve aboard ships with the duty to both protect the ship from close assault by the enemy and also to serve as a ground combat force. What special schooling existed for these Marines is not clear.

It is unique to eastern variant armies that there were two different methods of controlling air defense assets. In the United States military, for example, the Air Force is totally separate from the Air Defense forces that operate on the ground under Army control. (This does not mean the United States Air Force would not like to control the Air Defense assets of the Army, they would.) In the JNA, both the army and the air force controlled air defense assets. How each was organized will be discussed in following sections. Suffice for now that each of these components, or branches of the armed forces had their own secondary schools for air defense training established around Yugoslavia.¹⁷¹

The Military High Schools

The Military High School of the Army was in Sarajevo, the capital city of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This high school fed NCOs and officer cadets to the army, which at this time numbered about 140,000 soldiers, of

which 50,000 were professional soldiers.¹⁷² This school was situated in a huge barracks built right next to the main boulevard of the capital city. This boulevard is now aptly named "The Dragon of Bosnia" after the brigade that defended this part of the city. This barracks was, and still is, named the "Marshal Tito Kaserne."¹⁷³ This military high school had the responsibility for teaching leader skills for the infantry, artillery, armor and mechanized units, engineers, communications and those designated to serve in nuclear biological chemical (NBC) defense units. The courses taught there dealt with the tactical application of combat power, that is operations of combat units at brigade level and lower. There were also schools here that taught the support functions required for these combat operations. The general Quartermaster skills were taught here as well as the Army's cooks who learned how to feed their army. The Military High School of Sarajevo used a field training area outside Sarajevo near the small town of Pazarić. This small kaserne served as the training site for weapons shooting and small maneuver training.

Leaders requiring technical skills were trained at the Technical Military High School of the Army in Zagreb, now in present day Croatia (also the capital city). This school focused on mechanical and electrical engineering, rocket systems and traffic control.

Training for the Air Force and Air Defense Command took place in the Military High School of Air Force and Air Defense in Rajlovac. This school was located on a base on the outskirts of northwest Sarajevo. This school taught cadets the fundamentals of aviation in preparation for becoming pilots after graduation and Air Defense tactics. The soldiers required to operate the sophisticated communications networks of the Air Force and Air Defense systems were also trained there.

Since Yugoslavia had access to the Mediterranean through the Adriatic Sea the Naval Technical Military High School was logically located in Split - also on the Adriatic coast. As with the Army Technical school, this school also taught mechanical and electrical en-

gineering, and the specific subjects required of ocean-going boats and ships.

Medical military training was taught at the Medical High School in Novi Sad, a city northwest of Belgrade. Further details of the curriculums taught in these schools follows in a later section of this chapter.

Entrance Requirements

The competition to enter these military high schools was held every November by the Ministry of Defense. The Personnel Administration division of the ministry published the competition requirements for interested students. At this time (1985) competition was limited to healthy males who had passed a medical physical, had no criminal record, and also who also possessed "...a recommendation about their moral-political aptness for schooling and service in armed forces"¹⁷⁴, and their parents consent. In this context, a potential student's moral-political aptness meant an aptness to become a loyal member of the Communist Party. It was also very beneficial to the young officer candidate, if he was also a member of the League of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia - such membership would assure easy entry to the next level.¹⁷⁵

Besides being potential good Communists, all candidates were also required to meet several other special conditions. The minimum age was sixteen. There were several methods for the candidates to gain entrance based on how they had done in their elementary and/or middle school subjects.¹⁷⁶ The candidates wishing to start military high school in their first year must have completed the eighth grade and the first semester of their ninth grade with at least a B average. If the candidate had finished the ninth grade, an A average was required. If a candidate had already entered a civilian high school in Yugoslavia, then he could transfer to a military high school and start in the third year of the military high school as long as he was not over the age of 18. These candidates had to have maintained an A grade

level for their ninth and tenth years of high school work. Entrance requirements to the military high schools were, obviously, adjusted based on the changing realities of the Yugoslavian military.

Military High Schools started their year on the 1st of September and lasted until the 15th of July, again in a similar fashion as their civilian counterparts, working on the semester system. Each school week contained thirty 45 minute, classes in the ninth grade, thirty-two in the tenth and eleventh, and thirty-five in the twelfth. If training was required aboard ship, with weapons or combat vehicles and the like, the classes per week often extended beyond these numbers. Teaching in these classes was normally a five-day workweek, and, if special circumstances called for it, students attended for six days. The typical program of instruction for these schools will be shown in Figure 10.

If this amount and frequency of training seems rigorous, the examination program was even more strenuous. The high school exams were organized into three parts. At the end of a cadet's second year the cadets participated in an oral exam on general military subjects before a school commission. In the third year, again in front of a school commission the second part was taken. At that time the cadet was examined both orally and via written products in social science and technical subjects (mathematics, etc.). The third, and final, part of the examination process occurred at the conclusion of training in the fourth year. However, this exam, rather than in front of a school commission, was conducted in the school center of the cadet's proposed branch of service with questions surrounding that specialty (infantry, quartermaster, etc.) There was some relief from this examination schedule for those who excelled in high school however. If a cadet achieved excellence in the curriculum subjects in the first two years of training, that cadet was exempted from the second year examination process. This exemption was also allowed for excellent performance after the end of the cadet's third and fourth years of training. It was, therefore, possible for a cadet to attend all four years of Military High

School and not be required to take any of the three final exams the rest of the less-well performing cadets had to take.¹⁷⁷

Organization of Instruction

Examinations were tough but the instructors were organized to ensure as much success as possible. After all, it takes a lot of money to train military men and women. The organization of instruction for the cadets relied heavily on specialist teachers. The instruction was divided into five parts. Three of the five parts of the instruction were conducted by instructors dedicated to, and specially trained for, work in this specific part.

All cadets received training in the first part - regular instruction. This part focussed on learning the common tasks of military members. The curriculum was formed around the standard subject-hour system of 30 or so classes a week of 45 minutes each, similar to their civilian counterparts schools. The cadre of instructors for the regular instruction was composed of active duty military officers.

Cadets performing poorly due to learning difficulties or absences for long periods due to illness were placed in the second part of the organized training - remedial instruction. Instructors with special skills and training con-

ducted this instruction for either groups of cadets or for individuals.

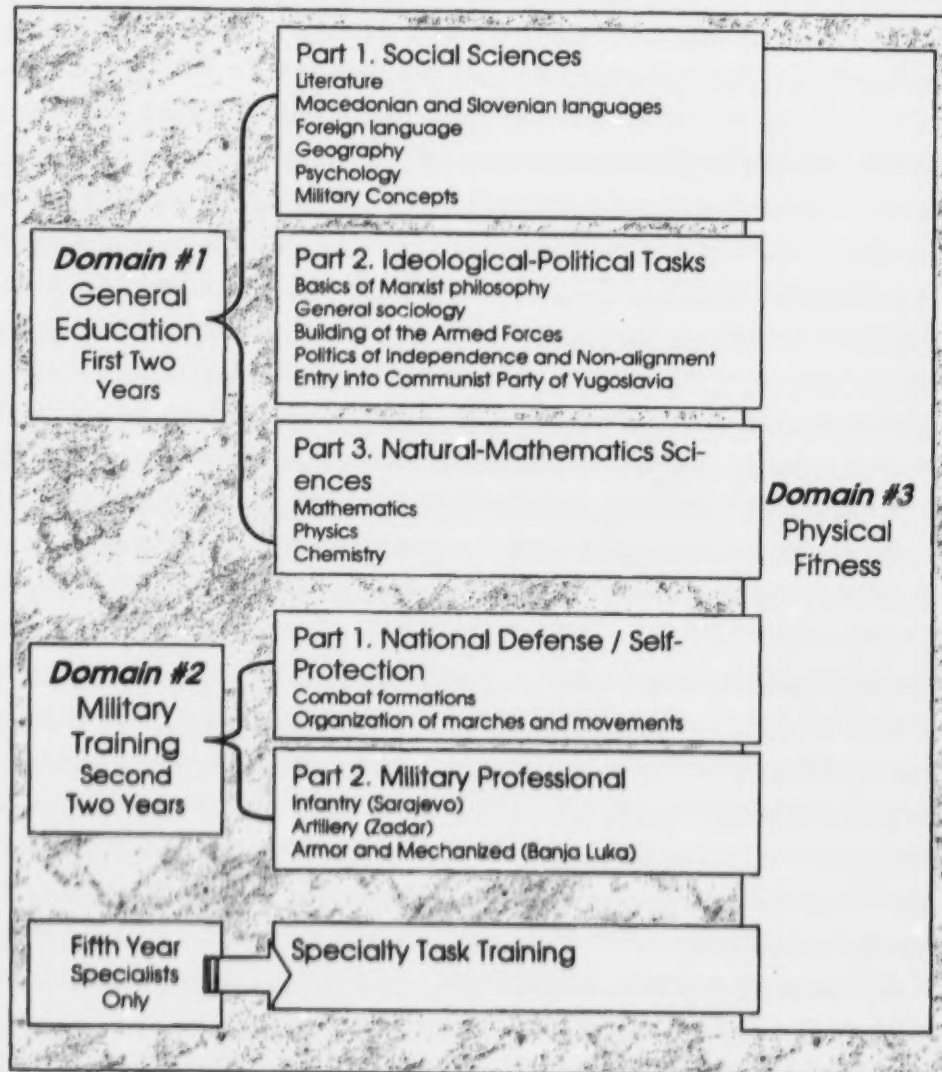
The third part, called additional instruction, offered cadets with exceptional talents and capabilities instruction beyond the regular curriculum, especially if they demonstrated aptitude for instructorship and/or science subjects. The cadre for this part appears to have been the same cadre that presented the regular instruction - they simply made the tasks more difficult and challenging for the quicker, more talented students.

The fourth part was created for cadets preparing for make-up exams in academic subjects and final exams. This part was called preparatory (or continuation) instruction and was also taught by special instructors.

The fifth part of the instruction dealt primarily with specialty training events conducted in the field. These training sessions would have been conducted in the outlying training sites, such as the kaserne at Pazarić, since it was but a short trip to the ski slopes of Bjelašnica (beeyellashneetsa) and the high mountain meadows and forests not far from the kaserne. All cadets participated in these special-training events, regardless of specialty.¹⁷⁸

The curriculum that was imbedded in the regular instruction was very similar to the subjects taught in the civilian high schools of Yugoslavia. The curriculum was organized into three "domains," as shown in Figure 10.

Figure 10. Three Domain Curriculum Design of the Military High School



These three domains were General Education (which included military subjects), Military Training, and Physical Fitness. Each domain was further subdivided into discreet parts focussed on soldier development skills. Each of these parts will be further developed below.

The First Domain – General Education

The general education domain was divided into three parts, the first being a block of subjects in the social sciences; literature, Macedonian and Slovenian languages (in the second year), the same foreign language that the cadet learned in elementary or middle school, geography, psychology, and military concepts, organizations and weapon. One goal of training in this domain was to study the "...phenomenon of society and nature and their mutual correlation (to) make it possible for cadets to develop a Marxist view of the world and war."¹⁷⁹ Early modeling of the moral-political psyche then was an overt part of the military high school curriculum.

The second block of lessons in the general subject's domain was focussed on ideological-political tasks. Some overlap with the first block of lessons in the social sciences is obvious. (Why those overlaps occur is not clear). But the best way to get a true sense of these subjects is to quote them directly, as the leadership of the military schools wrote it. The ideological-political subjects taught in a military high school

...encompasses the basics of the Marxist philosophy, of general sociology, of the social system of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia. Studying of these subjects helps in developing of a many-sided socialist personality, capable of resisting every possible aggressor in every moment, in showing that readiness practically and every day in building of the socialist self-managed society and its

defense, and above all in constant strengthening of combat readiness of his unit.

...studying of subjects (in) this domain should enable:

- (discovery) about modern achievements of the Marxist idea, accepting of the revolutionary-class essence of our National-liberation war and of building of the socialist self-managed society, building of armed forces, national defense and social self-protection as well as accepting of the politics of independence and non-alignment.

- accepting of the Marxist-dialectic way of thinking, the Marxist view of the world and the system of values of the socialist self-managed society;

- training for creative work on combat building of the units, strengthening of their moral-political unity, revolutionary-class orientation, for creative and active participation in the social-political work in JNA and in society;

- preparing for a conscious entering into the organization of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.¹⁸⁰

It was, of course, the last objective, which was the primary objective to be achieved by the student after his training in this domain - even before his skills as a combat leader of the youth of Yugoslavia. Beyond the political propaganda he learned, he also was expected to learn about the empirical world too.

The third block of lessons in the general subjects was "natural-mathematics sciences." Like his civilian counterparts the cadet studied mathematics, physics, chemistry and biology.

The Second Domain – Military Subjects

The second domain of military education also had three parts: general-military subjects, military-professional subjects and specialist subjects.

The first part concerning general-military subjects focussed on the concept of national defense and how the military member fit into the architecture of "self-protection." Basic military skills in the use of combat formations, organization for movement, marches, etc. were stressed here. Cadets learned the basic organization of their component, the weapons used, as well as those of sister components. This block of subjects consumed the first two years of a cadet's military schooling.

The second two years were specialty oriented. The block of subjects covering the military-professional and specialist tasks were organized around the particular specialty the cadet was to enter. At this point a cadet had to move to the city where the school was that taught his specialty. These specialty lessons were organized for infantry (Sarajevo), artillery (Zadar), armor-mechanized forces (Banja Luka), engineers (Karlovac), communications specialists (Belgrade), and Nuclear Chemical Biological (NBC) in Kruševac. These lessons followed a standard model of general to special tasks typical of all army schools that dealt with specialty training.

The Third Domain – Physical Training

Physical training, the third domain of the military high school, regardless of location, was supposed to develop the physical abilities of cadets. Besides a physically fit body, the other goals of training in this domain were to contribute to the cadet's intellectual development and creation of a strong work ethic. Whether any of this could have been achieved in the short two-hours a week allocated is doubtful. Most armies, today, conduct this type of training for a minimum of an hour each day of the week, totaling at least five hours per week. But the program also provided for participation in many sports events (notably soccer, *inter alia*) that was to make it possible for the cadets to satisfy their individual inclinations and to build endurance, speed, strength, and dexterity. Team

building and the actual organization and control of sporting events was also taught.¹⁸¹

Technical and Specialty Training

For cadets destined to the technical branches, if they started their military high school in Sarajevo, they were lucky. These cadets stayed in Sarajevo to learn the skills required of the technical branches in electrical engineering, mechanical engineering, power generating technological and traffic control. Cadets not living in Sarajevo were required to move to the city in order to gain training in these skills.

Education for cadets destined for units of the Air Force component of the Air Force and Air Defense branch¹⁸² units of the Yugoslavian armed forces attended the military high school at Rajlovac (just outside Sarajevo). These cadets fed an air force composed of about 32,000 officers and airmen, of which only 4,000 of these were conscripts. The very high ratio of officers and technical (professional) NCOs to conscripts was due to the very high level of technical training required in this branch. The air force was composed of about 400 fixed wing aircraft and 200 attack helicopters.¹⁸³ To fly and maintain these aircraft the specialty branch schools were organized similarly to the Army high school except cadets at the Air Force high school took a common curriculum for three years and a specialist curriculum for only one year. The aviation technical courses educated cadets principally as maintenance technicians for the 21 aviation squadrons of the Air Force and also for systems belonging to the Air Defense command. Depending upon the cadet's aptitude, inclination and the needs of the Air Force, cadets could choose from a large number of specialties, including training for technicians for aircraft and turbine/rocket motor maintenance, aviation weapons, general aviation equipment, and aerial photograph equipment.

The specialty courses for those destined for the Air Defense component of the command were dispatched to Zadar, where the artillery-training center was located. This high school

taught cadets tasks to sustain artillery-rocket units and missile units of the Air Defense. This component controlled primarily the larger and longer-range air defense missiles (SA2 and SA3) as well as about 15 regiments of air defense artillery.¹⁸⁴ They also learned the organization and functioning of aerial reconnaissance units, especially forward observers for control of attack aircraft. The curriculum focussed, naturally on mathematics and the complicated, technical subjects typical of these units. As with their Air Force peers, only the fourth year of this high school was for specialty training.¹⁸⁵

The young men of Yugoslavia in love with the sea, and probably many who were not, attended the Navy technical military high school in Split. Unlike the technical high schools for the Army and Air Force, the Navy specialist education lasted two and a half years. These graduates fed a Yugoslavian Navy of about 10,000 sailors with 4,400 of them being conscripts. Cadets were trained for maintenance of machines and motors that powered the 80 frigates, corvettes, minesweepers, submarines and patrol boats of the navy.¹⁸⁶ They also learned the organization and supervising of maintenance and repair work of seamen. The curriculum was devoted to engineering of all types; electrical, mechanical, hydraulic, and metallurgy.¹⁸⁷

These military and technical high schools trained NCOs and officer cadets for service in the JNA. Just like their civilian counterparts, these schools had a caste system built into them. While NCOs were trained in the military and technical high schools, officer cadets could be trained either in the military high school or in a military gimnazija. Less than five percent of all NCOs trained in the military high school system were deemed fit to attend the next higher level of military schooling which would train them to become lieutenants in the military. The officer cadets who graduated from a military gimnazija frowned upon their peers from the military high school, sensing their lesser status and letting them know it too.¹⁸⁸ But both types of graduates went on to attend the next level - the military academy.

The Military Academies

The military academies were college-level education sites that awarded their students degrees in military science and commissioned them as new officers in the military. New army officers usually signed up for a tour as a professional officer for six to ten years. Air Force pilots signed up for 15 years.¹⁸⁹ Each component (Army, Navy, and Air Force) had its own Academy. The training events that the cadets were expected to accomplish were extensive.

Officer candidates attended basic military training at the beginning of their first year of schooling. This basic training was the same training taken by common soldiers of the Army. In the second (or possibly the third) year, the young officer served an internship in a unit of the army, hopefully in a similar type unit to the one in which he was expected to command his first platoon. In the Army, the officer candidates also camped and skied since they would, naturally, be doing a lot of their actual Army work outdoors. Navy officer candidates experienced the joys of loading and unloading ships instead of camping, and sailed on the Adriatic's blue waters rather than skiing the white slopes of Yugoslavia's high mountains.¹⁹⁰

The curriculum of the academies was similar across all four schools in the first two years, with common subjects taught in a five or six-day week with about thirty 45-minute classes a week. Since this level paralleled a college level education, the subjects were a bit more complex than their high school training. The academy curriculum was divided into several domains: ideological-political subjects, social subjects, natural-mathematics subjects, general-military subjects, military-technical subjects, military-professional subjects, and physical training. The language that described these domains, especially the ideological-political domain was consistent with the language describing it in the military high schools and gimnazija. For example, the guidance to the

instructors in the military academies was that learning in the ideological-political domain

should contribute to the building of the Marxist view of the world and understanding of regularities in development of human society. Through achievements of the Marxist theory and practice, cadets should understand the revolutionary-class essence of our revolution and social-political and economic relations in the system of socialist self-managing society.

... the subject basics of political work and methodology of political education of soldiers and mariners is partly realized through preparations for internship, and partly in the final year of schooling.¹⁹¹

Training in social subjects did not follow the standard college model. In this model, social subjects focused on military psychology, military adult education, military law and foreign languages. The principal goal of these subjects was to prepare the officer candidate for leading soldiers in combat, for training of those units, and application of the lessons learned in World War Two; (normally referred to as the National-liberation war). Further development of the officer's skills along this same general line was accomplished in a domain called general military subjects. There the cadet learned the doctrine of national defense and social self-protection, acquired a basic military knowledge in the organization and weapons of his sister components of the armed forces. Each cadet was also required to endure some level of technical training, even if they were not destined to be a technician. The cadets worked through three technical subjects: the basics of electronics, the fundamentals of electrical engineering and also military mechanical engineering.¹⁹²

As in their high school experience, the cadets trained on physical fitness throughout their college life, again to continue development of "...strength, speed, dexterity, and endurance." Sports, specifically soccer and basketball, were principal events in the cadet's physical fitness regime. This training was also

designed to instill the essential characteristics which would enable survival under the rigors of modern (and also ancient) combat; "...decisiveness, courage, fighting spirit, endurance, and self-confidence."¹⁹³

The academy lasted four years, or eight semesters. As with the military high schools, the first two years focussed on common military subjects, not necessarily tied to any specialty. The second two years was devoted to specialty training, be it infantry (Sarajevo Tito Barracks), artillery (Zadar), armor-mechanized units (Banja Luka, in the "Petar Drapšin Center), engineers (Karlovac in the "Narodni heroji Bogdan Orešćanin" Center), signal (Belgrade), NBC (Kruševac), quartermaster (Sarajevo), finance (Sarajevo), and geodetic services (Belgrade). If an officer candidate graduated from a military high school, he normally could graduate from the academy within three years, rather than four. Cadets entering from civilian high schools were required to go four years. All of the academies trained their officers to lead and command units of their specialty.¹⁹⁴

Technical Academies

For branches of the army requiring a more technically oriented curriculum the JNA organized a Military-Technical Academy. The Air Force and Navy did also. The Technical Academies schooling lasted five years with the first two years study dedicated to social sciences, sciences and ideological-political subjects. The final three years focussed on military-technical lessons of the particular specialty.

The different specialties available for the cadets were many and varied for almost any talent. A student could pursue study in weapons, ammunition and demolitions, maintenance (motor, and engineer vehicles), rocketry (including guided rockets - or missiles), electronics with two sub-specialties of telecommunications or radar-computers, electrical engineering, computers, a chemical technology course, or traffic management. In the Army

technical academy, there was also another faculty designed to specifically train engineers to support and produce systems for the national military industry.¹⁹⁵

The Air Force Academy, lasting only four years, trained pilots for fixed and rotary wing aircraft. The first two years, as with their sister academies, were devoted to general educational and military subjects, while the last two concentrated on developing flying skills in a single aircraft flight, formation flights, navigation tasks, instrument flying (bad weather), and night training. The officer cadets trained in aviation physics, combat tactics for airplanes and helicopters, organization and function of the various aviation squadrons of the Yugoslavian Air Force and the "...moral-political characteristics necessary for the profession of a leader-pilot: initiative, decisiveness, discipline, courage, combativeness, endurance, motivation, companionship and other positive characteristics."¹⁹⁶

Since the functions of Air Force and Air Defense were integrated at the operational level, the academy that trained the support personnel for these two combat functions, was also integrated. The Military Academy for training officers in support roles to the Air Force and Air Defense forces had diverse training opportunities. For cadets destined to serve in the Air Defense, the first three years of the common training was done at Rajlovac (outside Sarajevo), but in the fourth year the cadets transferred to the Air Defense Center at Zadar, on the Adriatic. Most air defense units were organized by the type air defense system they fired, either light (usually man-portable), medium self-propelled rocket or missile launchers and the heavy rockets, also self-propelled. Another specialty within the broader air defense branch was aerial observation and alert, these tasks being integral to the centralized method of control of aircraft in the airspace of armies trained in the Soviet model.¹⁹⁷

The Naval Academy at Split trained young ensigns for sea duty and other naval related missions. The military leadership warned prospective cadets for the navy life that although the "profession of a leader in the Navy

is very attractive, (it is) also very responsible and strenuous."¹⁹⁸ As with the Army and Air Force academies, the first three years at the Naval Academy were devoted to core subjects, the last to actual sea duties, especially command of ships and boats. The curriculum covered nautical basics, ship's weapons and equipment; rockets, anti-submarine torpedoes, mine and counter-mine warfare, and signals.

Cadets destined for the technical side of navy business studied for five years at the Navy Technical Department of the Naval Academy. This department concentrated on ship mechanical engineering, electrical engineering, and the technical aspects of mine and counter-mine warfare.¹⁹⁹

From these various academies newly graduated officers went forth to take charge in their first assignments. It would be several years, even decades before they saw a military school again.

Officer Higher Education

Officers, assigned to units of the Yugoslavian military, served for about 10-15 years before they encountered their military education system again (unless they were assigned to a military high school or academy as an instructor). Educational opportunities for officers at that point in their career could be one, or more, of four types. Each branch of the military hosted its own Command and Staff School that focussed on the tactical and operational levels of war. For advanced work in sustaining the political objectives of the Communist Party within the Yugoslavian military, political officers would attend the High Military Political School of the JNA. Medical officers attended their own advanced schooling at the Military Medical Academy. Officers completing their own Command and Staff School could, assuming their future positions warranted, attend the School of National Defense that concentrated on war at the strategic level.²⁰⁰ A graphic view of

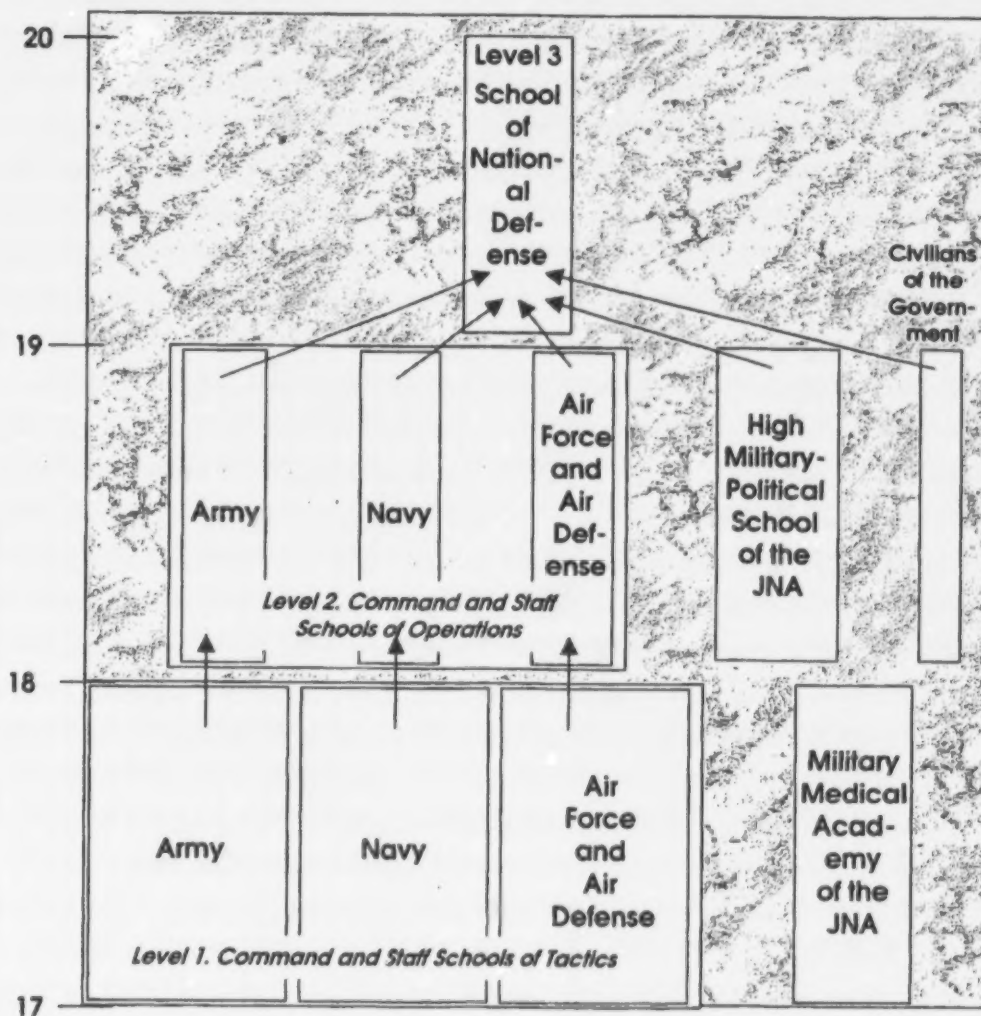
this upper-level military system is as shown in Figure 11.

Officers attended the first level, the Command and Staff School of Tactics, after their first several assignments in the JNA. This initial level trained officers to expand their horizons in the application of the tactical art and also sought to apply scientific methods in the application of combat power. This school lasted one year for both the officers destined to return to combat units of the army as well as those in the technical branches who were more focussed on scientific research. The latter probably trained to invest their research efforts in their particular specialty; air defense systems, weapons development and the like.

The next level of learning occurred at the Command and Staff School of Operations. This level served as a continuation of the first level of education, the difference being that far fewer senior officers attended this second level. Those officers were destined for the "... highest duties in units and institutions of armed forces."²⁰¹ Exactly what this meant at the time is unclear.

The Command and Staff School (both levels) of the Yugoslav National Army was located in Belgrade as was the Air Force Command and Staff School. The Navy Command and staff school was in Split. At both levels of these schools, officers could earn either a masters or a doctorate in military sciences.

Figure 11. Yugoslavian Military School System for Senior Officers - 1985



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Similar training was afforded an officer in the Air Force and Air Defense branch of the military. This school also had the same two levels as the army and navy schools. The tactics school served to expand the tactical frame of reference of pilots and the air defense officers in the operational plane. Work in the "scientific methods" of warfighting in their particular domain was also available.²⁰²

In concert with the advanced training for pilots and Air Force squadron leaders, their counterparts in the more technically-oriented branch of the Air Force and Air Defense branch also could attend their own command and staff schools. The Command and Staff School for Tactics (and Operations) of the Air Force and Air Defense branch also prepared their officers for positions of command and staff in their highest headquarters and in joint units. Formulation of future air defense doctrine and concepts was an integral part of officer training here. Those leaders who successfully finished the Command and Staff School of Operations of the Air Force and Air Defense branch could be assigned for duty as "...teachers in military schools or duties in scientific research work."²⁰³

The Navy system of higher education followed the same one-year model as their ground and air based sister branches: tactics and operations. Students in the Navy Command and Staff School of Tactics accepted the mid-career leaders of the Navy who were graduates of the Navy military academy and had completed specific assignments in the Navy. The Command and Staff School of Operations accepted graduates of the school of tactics who are being groomed for certain command and staff duties in the operational and strategic level headquarters and staffs of the Navy and the other armed forces.²⁰⁴

Politics and Medicine

Officers working in the political apparatus of the JNA attended their own unique school, reserved entirely for them. Apparently

no officers of the combat branches, regardless of the level they attained in their own system, were trained in the High Military-Political School of the JNA. This school was designed to provide training for officers "...of JNA for political work in armed forces." This school was similar, however, to its combat branch counterparts in that, it too, promoted scientific research work in social science for the country's benefit. This form of training was specifically designed to enable the political officers of the military to

...apply the theoretical knowledge that they acquire in their practice in various political, party and other duties on higher and high levels of leading and commanding. They are being trained to individually solve many issues and tasks in the domain of political work in armed forces, ...as well as for work in the authorities of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in the Yugoslav National Army.²⁰⁵

Medical officers enjoyed their own schools also. The Medical Academy curriculum was organized to promote medical research, but also served as an actual medical institution of the JNA. There were not two levels in this school. The principal goals of the school were to conduct post-graduate studies, prepare teaching cadre for the school, and to develop and sustain generalists, specialists, and certain experts in general and military medicine, pharmacy, diagnostics, therapy, preventive medicine and stomatology (study of the mouth and its diseases).²⁰⁶

National Defense

The highest level of schooling available to officers of the JNA was the one-year School of National Defense.²⁰⁷ This school trained military leaders and a few civilians with duties in the Federation government systems who also had higher education degrees²⁰⁸. The officers trained here were destined for specific duties at

the strategic level and to serve on the highest staffs of the armed forces. This school was also responsible for oversight of the organization and development of scientific research work that was important for accomplishment of national defense objectives. Undoubtedly, this school had authority to task the subordinate schools of the military education system with research tasks in support of the efforts in the School of National Defense.²⁰⁹ Selected officers were also sent to the Soviet Union to attend one of their schools of higher military learning.²¹⁰

Initiative and "the Enemy"

The military school system described above existed prior to the fracturing of Yugoslavia in the civil war of 1992-1996. This system existed to develop the capability to "...efficiently oppose every possible aggressor on our country."²¹¹ To enable the officer leadership of the JNA to achieve that goal of efficiently opposing aggressors, the military education thinkers of that time sought to develop the skills of their future leaders for combat through an improved "...capability of dialectic creative thinking....the use (of) modern methodology of educational work that will enable development and expressing of creativity, initiative and capabilities of leaders... (and) ...a special power (military-scientific thought) considering the fact that the national defensive war that (they) would lead in case of an aggression, (would be) a new type of war and that the armed combat within it is a new type of armed combat."²¹² The planners who wrote those words about "creativity" and "initiative" knew the system they were creating did *no such thing*.

Those planners, who were envisioning the development of a military education system for the future, while failing to create a system which would (or could) actually promote creativity and initiative, would, however, be remarkably prescient in another vein. For within a decade of writing those words, the officers that the JNA military system had trained had

finished the overt combat of a brutal civil war. It is highly probable that the authors of the text describing the current and future organization of the military education system of the, then, coherent and functioning Republic of Yugoslavia, knew exactly to whom they were referring when they wrote that the

...system of national defense and social self-protection must be continually mobile, ready and effective to resist the outside and *inside enemy* (emphasis mine) for defending of the country, achievements of the national-liberation war and socialist revolution and the developing and protection of the constitutional system. That is why we will make efforts to have armed forces, as the main power of the defensive system, at such a level of readiness to quickly and successfully execute the given tasks and through their effective actions enable efficient functioning of the complete system of national defense and social self-protection.²¹³

While the future thinkers wrote that their "...military schools (would) be 'smithies' of brotherhood and unity of our nations and nationalities"²¹⁴, they also knew at the moment they wrote those words that their military school system would be just the opposite. They knew that the "smithies", in which they forged the military skills of the leaders of the JNA, would soon become infernos feeding the flames of civil war which pitted brother Yugoslavian against brother Yugoslavian whose only difference was a difference in language - and faith. There would be no smithies of brotherhood. There would only be the blazing inferno of fratricidal civil war.

The new military education system that would emerge from the ashes of the civil war would be, ostensibly, designed to eliminate the very divisions that gave rise, in no small part, to the civil war. Since the Dayton Accords of 1995, which brought an end to the *overt, visible* activities of the civil war, the underlying tensions which led to it have not abated. The next section will describe how the current military

education system that replaced the JNA system in Bosnia works.

The Current System-1996-2000

The Yugoslavian civil war of 1992-1996 disintegrated the republics of Yugoslavia into separate and independent states. Out of Yugoslavia came the newly recognized states of Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Of all the factors contributing to this fracture, the military component of this disintegration can be traced to specific events in the late 1960's. These events would have a significant effect on the strategic defense plans of Yugoslavia, the military education system of the JNA, and the future of the country itself.

The Soviets attacked Czechoslovakia in the spring of 1968 bringing massive conventional power to bear against the helpless army and people of that region. Their principal objective of their invasion was to suppress the growing openness and liberalism appearing in that Soviet satellite state. The strategic thinkers of the JNA, watching the "...surprise, speed, and massive superiority of the (Russian) invading forces...(realized) that the relatively small JNA could not successfully use conventional tactics to defend Yugoslavian territory against a similar attack."²¹³ The strategic thinkers of the JNA certainly feared such an attack since the Yugoslavian communists were a whole lot more liberal, and had been for a decade longer, than the Czechoslovakians had ever been. So what did they do? They decided to fight the next war, they thought not far away, the same way they had won the last one. They promulgated a doctrine of Total National Defense which would train each and every able-bodied Yugoslavian, male and female, to go to the hills when the Russians attacked and fight a war of "...continuous, unconventional warfare...."²¹⁶ This strategic plan, called the "all-people's defense" (or Territorial Defense Forces - TDF) would rely, fatally, on regional control of military training for the citizens and also shifted the

costs of this training from the central government to the six republics and two autonomous regions. Since 1953 secondary school curriculums had had two 45-minute classes per week in military subjects in the junior and senior year of high school. The expanded requirements for military training developed in 1969 for all citizens was relegated for execution to the universities and secondary schools in all these regions. Therefore, without knowing it, the strategic thinkers of the JNA would develop a plan to defend their homeland against a (Soviet) conventional attack using militia soldiers fighting with the same tactics they had used as partisans in World War Two, that would become the very force to fight to tear the nation apart 30 years later. It is possible that

Tito may have viewed the Territorial Defense Force as a hedge against the possible political ambitions of the professional (JNA) military. During the Croatian nationalist disturbances of 1969-71, nationalist leaders feared that Croatian TDF units would become the basis of an independent Croatian Army....²¹⁷

Which is *exactly* what happened. The Croatian TDF had already, by that time, become an independent army, and they are exactly the same people who rose up, after the Slovenians, to fight against the Belgrade regime in 1992. So while the design of the territorial defense forces was specifically crafted to enable a successful defense against a conventional Soviet attack into Yugoslavia and, more significantly, *defuse* the ability of any cabal to mount a coup against Tito, the design actually built a cadre of soldiers who were central to the disintegration of the country. They tore the country apart. What has emerged from this civil war?

On the surface, Yugoslavia is now composed of only Serbia, Kosovo and Macedonia. How long the latter two will remain attached to the former is a matter of strong conjecture. But of the JNA (about 180,000) soldiers, sailors and airmen who served prior to 1992, no small part of that 180,000 fought against each other in the

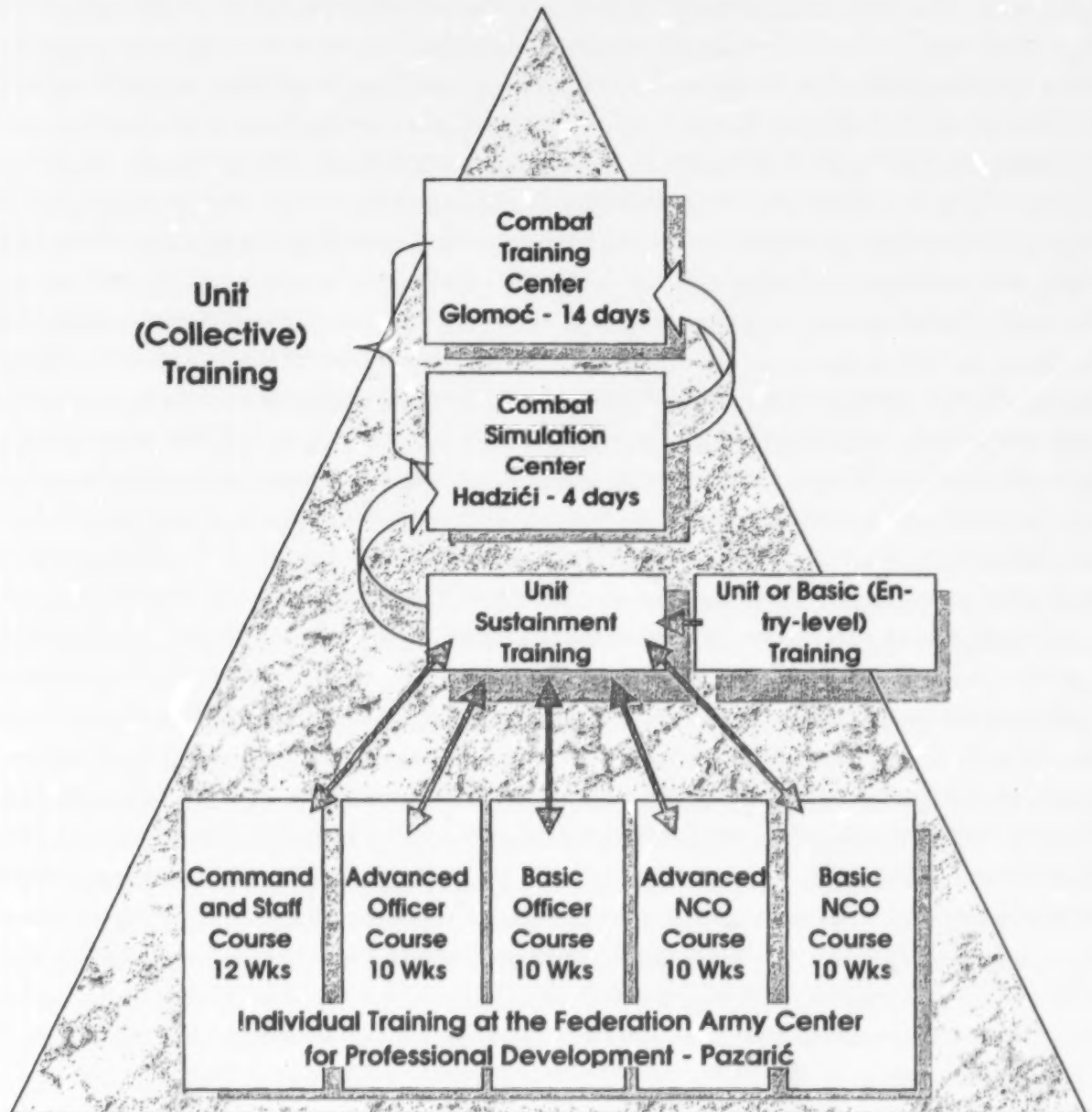
civil war. To fill out the brigades of each faction fighting in Bosnia, the three separate armies relied heavily on the ex-JNA professional soldiers and militia of the TDF loyal to their particular ethno-religious group; Serbian Orthodox, Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Catholic Croats. The brigades that fought the war never ventured very far from the regional hometowns of their militiamen, since without them there would have been no brigades to fight. Training in these brigades was rudimentary. At war's end, each faction, and the brigades it controlled, essentially solidified the gains made up to that point and dug in for the long haul called the Dayton Accords. These accords gave birth to the military training system in place now for the Army of the Federation (AoF) of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The AoF of BiH 1999-2000 is composed of brigades, most of them consolidated from many smaller combat units, which remain

regionally (and factionally) oriented. That is there are brigades which are mostly Muslim and Muslim alone, and then there are brigades which are mostly Croat and Croat alone. There are a few exceptions wherein brigades have a few soldiers of the opposite faction, but not many (and very few Serbs anywhere). The remnants of the army that the Serbs created in Bosnia exist in the third part of the republic, Republika Serpska, or RS for short. The current military training system of the AoF is not connected in any fashion, yet, to the Army of the RS.

What are connected today, at least for now, are the two factions of the AoF. They combine forces to man and run the military training system of the AoF from individual through collective training events. The general organization for training is shown below in Figure 12.

Figure 12. Military Training System of the AoF - 2000



Overall Organization for Major Training Events

The base of this training pyramid is the Federation Army Center for Professional Development (FACPD) at Pazarić, about 30km south of Sarajevo. Soldiers of the AoF attend this center for leadership development, studying tactics, logistics, and other related skills. The soldiers return to their units and assume leadership positions based upon their newly acquired skills. They participate in Unit Sustainment Training based on their annual training calendar. Normally at least twice a year these leaders attend training at the Combat Simulation Center at Hadzići, which is not far from the FACPD. These simulation training sessions test the leader's skills in planning and execution of operations they will actually undertake during the final step in the training system - the Combat Training Center in Glamoč. The Combat Training Center is a training event in the field where the leaders actually do what they previously practiced (simulated) at the simulation center. This cycle is repeated every 12-18 months, depending upon the needs of the AoF and the unit's readiness. So what happens at the FACPD, the base of this training pyramid?

The FACPD sits right up against the main north-south highway of eastern Bosnia. The kaserno upon which the center is housed used to be an outlying training site for the military high school in Sarajevo that does not exist any more. This kaserno also served at one time as a school for training on artillery, mortars and air defense. The kaserno is small, no more than several hundred acres with only 12 buildings. Six are devoted to classroom training, the rest to administration and student support. The local training area for movement tasks is south of the kaserno, running to the slopes of Mount Bjelašnica. The center is only

four years old (1996-2000) and has been developing steadily over this period.

The FACPD administrative staff is small, no more than 50 total, with the standard S1 (Personnel) through S-4 (Logistics) staff organization. A five-man education development cell is ostensibly there to develop new courses. It doesn't. But it might in the future. The administrative staff supports about 56 instructors spread across five primary courses; the Command and Staff Course, Officer Advanced Course, Officer Basic Course, Advanced NCO Course and the Basic NCO Course. The following description of the education system at the FACPD is divided into two parts. The first part addresses officer training and the second reviews the education opportunities for NCOs.

Officer Training

The Command and Staff Course is the senior course on the kaserno and for the AoF. This course lasts 12 weeks and is attended by officers from both factions in the approved Dayton ratio of about 3:1 Bosniak to Bosnian Croat²¹⁸. The rank spread of the students runs from senior First Lieutenant to Brigadier General.²¹⁹ The primary purpose of this course is to teach the skills needed to plan and execute combat operations in a maneuver battalion or brigade of the AoF (infantry or armor). There are no other combat arms courses (Artillery, Engineer, etc.) in the AoF. No soldiers of any rank from the Army of Republika Srpska attend this (or any other) course. The course curriculum is shown in Figure 13. The model diverges from previous ones in that it is organized into total subject hours *per course* without regard for the number of hours *per week* (a principal part of the previous designs).

Figure 13. Curriculum for Command and Staff Course

Core Blocks and Subjects

	Lesson Hours	L	PC	PF	N	S	R
<i>Command and Control</i>	29	17	12	0	0	0	0
Introduction to Command and Control	3	3					
Combat Orders and Estimates	11	4	7				
Organization of the Army	3	2	1				
Operational Terms and Graphics	5	4	1				
Standard Operating Procedures	3	2	1				
Reports	4	2	2				
<i>Tactics, Operations, and Planning</i>	99	57	42	0	0	0	0
Movement to Contact	16	8	8				
Defense	20	11	9				
Counterattack	12	5	7				
Counterfire	4	4					
Passage of Lines	7	4	3				
Fire Support	8	6	2				
Maneuver	8	4	4				
Reserve Operations	3	2	1				
Air Assault Operations	3	1	2				
Operations of Light Armor Units	12	6	6				
Close Air Support	2	2					
Air Defense	2	2					
Attack Helicopter Operations	2	2					
<i>Staff Work</i>	74	44	30	0	0	0	0
Instructor Techniques	8	5	3				
Staff Responsibilities	9	8	1				
Military Decisionmaking Process	19	9	10				
Intelligence Preparation of the Battlefield	12	6	6				
Training Management	8	4	4				
Logistics Management	12	8	4				
Personnel Management	4	3	1				
Command Posts	2	1	1				

L-Lecture/Conference, PC- Practical Exercise (PE) Classroom, PF- PE Field, N- Night Training, S- Simulation, R - Range Firing

Education in Bosnia

		L	PC	PF	N	S	R
<i>Military Subjects</i>	<i>53</i>	<i>35</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>0</i>
Leadership	4	3	1				
Mapwork	5	2	3				
Control Measures	5	2	3				
Lessons from Other Wars	7	7					
"Decisive Force" - Kosovo Campaign							
"Desert Storm"							
"Duffer's Drift"							
Noncommissioned Officers	2	2					
JANUS Simulations	12	8				4	
Map Reading and Navigation	2	1		1			
OPORD Writing	5		5				
Radios (PRC77/126)	1	1					
Weapons (M16/60)	2	1	1				
MILES	2	2					
Law of Land Warfare	5	5					
Medical Operations	1	1					
<i>Map Exercise</i>	<i>64</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>64</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>
Corps Order	2		2				
Brigade Orders	20		20				
Passage of Lines	6		6				
Movement to Contact	16		16				
Defense	10		10				
Counterattack	6		6				
After Action Review	4		4				
<i>Course Administration</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>
Course Organization	1	1					
Precourse Estimates	2	2					
Course After Action Review	1		1				
Graduation	2		2				
<i>Total Hours in Academic Year 1999-2000</i>	<i>325</i>	<i>156</i>	<i>164</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>0</i>

L-Lecture/Conference, PC- Practical Exercise Classroom, PF- PE Field, N- Night Training,
S- Simulation, R - Range Firing

Instructors and Students

The instructors are assigned from both factions and, for the Command and Staff Course, are led by a Bosnian Croat Lieutenant Colonel, with a Bosniak Major acting as his deputy.²²⁰ This model is the same for all the other courses with the rank and leadership of each course balanced between Bosniak and Croatian officers. These leaders work with ten or twelve other instructors. For the Command and Staff Course, the instructors range in rank from senior lieutenant to major. The more senior instructors (captains and above) all have some prior experience in the JNA, although not necessarily related to their current teaching assignments. For example, the principal instructor for the subject of counterattack was a chemical officer before the war. He has never maneuvered anything in his military life and has a very difficult time relating all the factors involved in such a maneuver. But he perseveres and gets better every year. The course has a student load of 40 officers who are required to participate in a total training day of about six hours. The students come from all walks of army life, even officers not destined to be operations officers or commanders of any kind of unit which would use the skills they learn. This course will apparently continue to be expanded until it is eventually a yearlong course (or only one course will be offered per year).

The Officer Advanced Course

The next most senior course is the 10-week Officer Advanced Course for captains and senior lieutenants. All the training is infantry focused. The officers who attend are normally destined for command of a company in an infantry battalion. Whether such assignments actually happen is unknown. The students learn a little bit about the other arms that support the infantry too. They learn some application of anti-armor weapons, artillery, air defense systems, and engineers. This course is organized

with a mix of faction officers, similarly to the Command and Staff Course. The training day and instructor contact hours are also similar. This course, however, also trains in the field periodically by doing terrain walks on the ground around the school.

The Officer Basic Course

The junior officer course is the 10-week Officer Basic Course. This course is designed to train young officers to be platoon leaders in infantry units but also teaches leadership skills useful in virtually any combat or combat support company. What it does not teach is for these officers to be platoon leaders in platoons where special skills and training are required, such as an anti-armor platoon or an engineer platoon. This course also has a student population of between 40 and 50. They are organized as a platoon, having three or four squads as the situation requires. This course does the most training in the field of all the officer courses, spending almost seven total training days (not consecutive) working on situational training exercise (STX) which are designed to test their leadership skills.

Officer Course Challenges

Almost all the training that occurs in the officer courses begins with an introductory lecture/conference period to set the stage. Then depending upon the subject, the students either practice individually the tasks being learned or work as a table group to solve tactical problems presented by the instructors. The central weakness in this method is that although the practical exercises are the best way to learn the complications of the tactical task at hand, none of the instructors has ever actually done what he is teaching. Few of the officers in the Officer Basic Course has ever been an infantry platoon leader in an infantry company and actually had to, for example, prepare for and actually lead

his platoon in a passage of lines through another unit using the accepted NATO doctrine for such a task. No officer in the Officer Advanced Course has ever commanded a company and had his own mortar platoon fire for him during a tactical ground maneuver using NATO doctrine. In the command and staff, none of the majors in the course has been an operations officer in a battalion size unit and actually planned and executed an operation using 10 helicopters to move his unit from one place to the other, using NATO air assault doctrine. But that doesn't mean they don't understand what they are teaching - they do. But they have no depth.

It will be a while before they get a depth of experience in NATO doctrine, but it will come. It will come after the system matures at the Combat Training Center (CTC).²¹ If the CTC survives budget cuts and units actually go there and endure the training there, learning as they go, they will get the depth of experience they need. It is vitally important that the education system then track the officers and NCOs who successfully complete a training cycle at the CTC and plan that these veterans of that very intense training period eventually become instructors at the FACPD. After a generation or two of having these type instructors assigned at the school - those that have been there and done it, the depth of experience they need will become reality.

New Tricks for Old Dogs

Concurrent with building a depth of experience in tactical operations from platoon through brigade level, the young, and sometimes *too* old, officers of this new army will gradually rid themselves of the JNA doctrine that still clings to the corners of their, and their senior leader's, minds. It is difficult to erase 50 years of terms and symbols from soldier's minds. But it will happen.

The next few years will see a fairly substantial reduction-in-force (RIF) in the army.

There are an inordinate number of soldiers in the army today who are holdovers from the previous system and are far too old to be the rank they hold. There are students in courses designed for the most junior enlisted leaders in the army, normally 24-28, who are 50 years old. There are students in the Officer Basic Course in the same mold. They are supposed to be 22-24 but are actually 48. While these NCOs and officers may have served honorably in their units during the recent war, they are far too old to be of long-lasting value to the army. They block the path of those younger, more open-minded, adaptable youth of Bosnia who can, and should, work for a fundamental mind shift in the leadership of the army. The RIF will be painful for many who will be separated, but it must happen. Even with the RIF there are other things that must happen to make these courses somewhat more equivalent with their NATO counterparts.

Beyond "Encyclopedism"

The officers in these courses must begin to do simple reading, research and writing tasks. They do not do that now. This is because the public school system from which they came did not do it. And the public education system did not so it because such a pedagogical system was foreign to them. The public education system from which these officers came favored rote memorization without significant effort at comparison, analysis and judgmental level thinking (except for the propaganda machinery of course). The teachers taught the students to listen to facts, draw factual things like copying maps out of books, and then evaluated the students on how well they could recite those facts and redraw the map. There was no significant effort to teach students *how* to learn from their own research and then require them to write about it too. The students were expected to regurgitate the lecture and that was it. As an example of how this public school pedagogical system significantly effects how the senior offi-

cers of the army now think can be demonstrated with the following example.

The senior officers of two different command and staff courses were challenged with a task that was significantly different from what they had experienced in their prior lives, both in civilian and military schools. They were asked to read about 50 pages of text concerning a German airborne operation conducted in Bosnia during World War Two. The airborne operation was designed to either capture or kill Tito, then the charismatic leader of the partisans who fought the Germans throughout the war. The students were asked to read the selections drawn from Yugoslavian, American and German sources to gain an appreciation of what happened over the period 22-24 May 1944 and then come to class prepared to discuss the answers to some questions provided them in the syllabus. The answers to these questions were all in the assigned reading. Anyone even remotely knowledgeable of pedagogical techniques will recognize this method of learning as the seminar.

The seminars were a failure. No one read the text with a design to be able to talk coherently about the German airborne operation. They did not even though the lessons the Germans and *Yugoslavians* learned from the German operation (which failed miserably) are as applicable today as they were 50 years ago. That was the purpose of the seminar: to draw conclusions about the operational lessons learned then and their application to the AoF of 1999. But that's not what these senior leaders of the army wanted. They wanted to be told the answer to the question so they could write the answer in their notebooks and then write that same answer on an examination later.

It will be a big task for the senior leadership of the army to overcome this significant intellectual hurdle and move in the pedagogical direction of all western armies. There is also the age-old issue of ethno-linguistic bias to overcome. Some of the resistance to the seminar may have been based on the student's bias toward Serbs. Serbs predominated in Tito's army leadership and today nothing the Serbs

did, or do, was or is, ever good - it's all bad, even their language. But, if the leadership can get past this cultural bias and the language issue they will get eventually gain the skills to meet the NATO standard. So how do the NCOs fair in this center?

NCO Education

The most senior NCO course is the 10-week Advanced NCO Course (ANCOC). This course is supposed to train soldiers with several years' experience in their units to be a platoon sergeant (PSG). A PSG is the second in command of a platoon in just about any kind of platoon in any army. In fact, the platoon (normally about 30-40 soldiers) is the only unit in the army where the officer is the leader and his/her second in command is an NCO. In all units above platoon level, the officer leader's second in command is another officer, normally one rank lower than the primary officer leader. But here at the ANCOC the focus is on training the NCO, deputy to the platoon leader, to take care of the soldier business of the platoon. This type of training is new and unique for both the NCOs and also the officers. As revealed prior, the previous system did not train NCOs to be NCOs like they are in western armies. To truly reach a NATO standard in training, the greatest single hurdle this army must meet is to learn to take the risk of delegating to NCOs the responsibilities and authorities they are due. This will not come easy. For too long the officer has done everything and delegated nothing. The reasons for this are explained in the previous section but suffice to say, that the transition to an army wherein NCOs are empowered as they are in NATO armies will be the most difficult bridge the leadership of this army must cross.

The Basic NCO Course

The way they may achieve some sustainable progress, with a little less pain, is to

continue to develop their embryonic NCO course with graduates from the Basic NCO Course (BNCOC), the junior NCO course at the school. The BNCOC is designed to train promising young soldiers and corporals to be squad leaders. One platoon is composed of three to five squads depending upon the type of unit. The squad is the first place there exists an NCO leader who actually makes decisions about the combat movement of a unit (instead of individuals). Because this is the first place that that kind of decision-making occurs, the BNCOC students spend a lot of time in the field. They conduct extensive training exercises to build the leadership skills of the young soldiers who are supposed to go back to their units and lead squads. As with the platoon leaders mentioned above, there is no guarantee that these newly trained NCOs actually ever get to lead squads. But the long-term potential of these young NCOs to influence the perceptions of the officers of the AoF about the worth of a professional NCO corps cannot be underestimated. The next step would be to begin training for senior NCOs in, obviously, a Senior NCO Course designed to fill out the overall training model with courses to specifically develop the top NCO leadership of the army.

Officer and NCO Specialty Courses

The center also teaches one specialty course. This is the Personnel Administration Managers Course (PAMC). This is a three-week course designed to train the personnel officers and NCOs of the AoF how to implement the new personnel management policies of the army. Since the end of the war each faction has been doing their personnel business in a most haphazard manner. The system used by the JNA was abandoned in favor of nothing early on in the war. After the war ended, the promotions, assignments, and retirements were all based solely on nepotism, war-buddy relationships, and, of course, the factional alignments present at the end of the war. This

unbridled system is to change with the training of a new corps of personnel managers who will, hopefully, bring order to this chaos. However, in the new century, this whole personnel system changeover may become the undoing of Dayton. It appears the single greatest stumbling block to true integration of the two factions is this new personnel policy - especially promotions and the money accompanying them. Whether the AoF survives this potentially disastrous time remains to be seen.

Sometime in 2001, two more specialty courses will be taught at the school. The two courses are the Combat Intelligence Course and a Logistics Course. The Intelligence course is specifically designed to bring the ex-JNA intelligence officers (read political officers and spies) into the NATO model where they are really supposed to know something about intelligence on the battlefield and not in the dossiers of the suspected enemies of the state. The logistics course will serve to bring a modicum of modern managerial techniques to the staff officers who are supposed to fuel, fix and arm the weapons and vehicles of the AoF. Currently, each regional brigade does its own local repairs and maintenance on a potpourri of combat systems scavenged from the ex-JNA units, the battlefields of the civil war, and donated by just about anybody outside Bosnia. The course will bring some level of standardization and harmony to a currently fragmented and disconnected sustainment system.

Language Courses

The school is also home to two language schools. The AoF run an English language course of nine months for 40 students. The five primary English instructors are all AoF officers who have been trained in the Defense Language Institute in the USA. This course is designed to prepare the way for the future senior officers of the AoF to be able to converse with NATO officers in English about the tactical, operational and strategic issues affecting

regional stability in the Balkans. The school also hosts a Turkish language course that is taught by Turkish civilian contractors. The course also lasts nine months with 50 AoF soldiers in each class. In 2001, the school will host a third language course - German.

Integration

The Stabilization Force (SFOR) has proposed a unique idea to further the integration of the two armies that exist in the Republic's territory. The design for a unique model of a Command and Staff Course emerged from the musings of British officers trained in the military systems of the United Kingdom (UK). Their logic was based on the traditions of their own military system. The UK has ethnic regiments in its army. There are Highland Regiments, Gurkhas, Welsh Regiments, etc. All retain their ethnic identity and heritage, yet serve the country in a unified army. Why not, these British officers thought, use the same model here? Let the Bosniaks, Croats and Serbs retain their ethnic identities and heritage but train together in a commonly supported command and staff school that, by the very nature of the associations students make throughout their military schooling, some level of harmony must surely occur. The counter-argument to this logic is simple.

For about 50 years the officers of the JNA trained through their hierarchy of military schooling (discussed in the previous section). Yet, when the clouds of civil war began to darken and finally split open across the once unified Republic of Yugoslavia, these officers, all knowing their school mates quite well from previous schooling together turned on each other without hesitation - just as the West Point graduates of the unified U.S. Army did in 1860. But a new century is upon us and maybe we have all learned new lessons in cooperation. Maybe there is some merit in a unified command and staff for the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. But I doubt it. Nevertheless these are the sources of the army's officer and NCO leadership.

This rudimentary military education system provides the basic groundwork for the future development of a truly professional corps of soldiers. It may well be another decade before the army loses the excess of unqualified and elderly soldiers, some from the previous system, which burden it now.²²² The young NCOs and officers being educated in the NATO model in this new century will, eventually, become the senior, and enlightened leadership of a new army. This army, hopefully, will be able to put the ancient animosities to bed and train to protect the country acting as a truly unifying force.

Chapter 6

Secondary Education in Bosnia Today

...the High Representative (of Bosnia and Herzegovina)...announce(s) (29 November 1999) the removal of various public officials.... (that) have failed the voters who elected them by pursuing anti-Dayton, anti-peace, anti-reconciliation and extra-legal agendas - especially at the local level where their obstructionism hurts the very people they should be helping. They have consistently refused to take ownership of the laws of their own nation by refusing to obey the letter or the spirit of law, regulations and court rulings. Some have persistently and seriously obstructed the return of refugees.... Still others have tried to block the most basic right to an education of minority populations in their areas. All have fostered the poison of division. (emphasis mine)²²³

Even after fighting a civil war for freedom and then operating for several years under the guidance of the Office of the High Representative, the behavior of the Bosnian officials removed from office is not surprising. Bosnians have been fighting for and against education for over a thousand years - especially when it comes to treatment of minority populations in the region. The country is geographically, and to some degree linguistically, defiant to efficient communication between people. This inability to communicate easily, and tolerate religious differences, is (and always has been) significantly exacerbated by those who continue to foster "...the poison of division." These geographical limitations on communication significantly inhibit the growth of an education system that is supposed to reach everybody - even to-

day. Bosnians have traditionally used education to favor those loyal to the ruling regime, whether Ottoman, Austrian, Monarchist, or Communist. So what is happening in education in Bosnia now?

The Bosnians know, without a doubt, that their current secondary and college level system of education is in a *significant* state of flux and adjustment. Besides their own efforts there are numerous programs under way to assist the country to transition from a communist state to one based on democratic principles with transparency of bureaucratic decisions and accountability of all public officials, including those involved in education. CIVITAS, a program designed to teach how democracies work, is one great example. Fulbright scholars teach in the university system attempting to inculcate an appreciation for the democratization process in their students. These, and other programs, seek to ameliorate the conditions arising from the previous centuries of educational development. Their influence on the three significant forces discussed in the preceding chapters - language, religion, and control, will not be confirmed for many more years. It will take time for Bosnians, and the people assisting them, to fully realize a fundamental mind-set shift required to overcome the inertia of the previous centuries.

Perceptions Today of Secondary and College Education

While awaiting the results of these efforts it is possible, however, to make an assessment of what Bosnians think about their

educational systems now. From these perceptions it is then possible to offer realistic recommendations about what might be useful for future work in the system's transitional development. To gain an appreciation for the adjustments required to make this transition and to put student perceptions in context, an overview of the secondary school system focussing on the Bosnian capital city of Sarajevo follows. The challenges faced there are very similar to the other major cities of the country, and to a lesser degree in rural regions. A major challenge is adjusting the secondary system to meet the true needs of all the population.

Before the 1992-1996 civil war, Sarajevo had five public secondary (high) schools, called *gimnazija*, serving a population of about 600,000. The city, in 1999, had eleven *gimnazija* of all types (public and private) serving about 350,000 people.²²⁴ The system has essentially reversed itself. This wide variance in system architecture against population served stems from the nature of the system prior to the civil war. Before the civil war, attending secondary school (as opposed to vocational school) was the privilege of the elite Communist Party youth and their families. Apparently so few graduates of middle schools actually went on to public secondary level that five *gimnazija* were generally sufficient. The five *gimnazija* provided enough graduates to keep the bureaucracies staffed with loyal party members. The rest of the middle school graduates went to a wide variety of vocational schools. Today this outward bias has subdued, but the covert elitism fostered by these designs lingers.

Adjusting the Past to Today

The system is adjusting today to overcome the deep-seated bias of yesterday. An overview of current secondary school entrance

requirements and past/present challenges in secondary curriculums will guide this initial analysis. After this initial analysis is complete, the focus will shift to specific review of the perceptions of Bosnians about what they experience(d) in their own educational life. These perceptions were gained using surveys and statistical analysis.

Entrance Requirements

A review of the statistics for entrance into a few selected Sarajevo Canton (county)²²⁵ public and religious secondary schools for academic year 1999-2000 will show some of the current challenges still facing system administrators. In the Sarajevo Canton there are 37 secondary schools (of all types - not just public *gimnazija*). Almost 7,000 candidates applied to attend a secondary school of some kind, but only 3,000 passed the entrance examination.

This entrance examination had only three subjects - the student's mother tongue (Bosniak or Croatian), English and mathematics. With a 57 percent failure rate for only a three-subject entrance examination, the people of Sarajevo Canton (and Bosnia) naturally suspect the "dirty business" of rigged testing remains in the system. The "rigged" system, enforced prior to the civil war, was designed to ensure that only the Party faithful's children advanced to secondary school. But today, notwithstanding a terrible pass rate for an entrance examination to public secondary school, all the students who *did* pass still could not gain a seat in a public secondary school. School administrators had to request permission to add classes to get almost all those who did pass into a school. The table at Figure 14 reveals the numbers surrounding this arduous and complicated process in selected public and private secondary schools.

Figure 14. Enrollment Statistics for Selected Sarajevo Canton Schools - Academic Year 99-00

School	# taking entrance exam	# passing entrance exam	# accepted	% applicants entering
First Gimnazija (public)	260	173	120	0.46
Third Gimnazija (public)	196	161	109	0.56
"Elite" Bosniak Gimnazija (religious)	92	not avail	78	0.85
Catholic Real Gimnazija (religious)	76	46	46	0.61
Gazi Husrev-begova Medresa (religious)	90	90	90	100
Teaching School (public)	249	173	151	0.61

The table also reflects that for the first two public secondary schools listed, the schools could accommodate only about half of those wishing to continue their secondary education in those schools.²²⁶ It also reflects serious problems with the elementary schools that feed these secondary schools if, in fact, the entrance tests *are not* rigged up front. A 57 percent failure rate means there is either a significant disconnect between what the pedagogues teach Bosnian children to know by the time they leave eight years of elementary school and what is required to be known when trying to get into a secondary school - or the entrance exams *are* fixed. Those not accepted into a gimnazija must find a "lesser" secondary school or vocational school (which is not necessarily a bad thing to happen) that will accept them or try to begin work somewhere as a fifteen year-old apprentice.

Curriculums

For those that do pass the entrance exams and are accepted into a public gimnazija, what is their curriculum and what is its historical basis? Since the end of the Second World War the curriculum for secondary schooling in Bosnia has always been debated or has been being reformed in one way or another. The current debate over curriculum centers on the distribution between core courses and electives.

But this debate, like most everything else in the country, is not new. The same subject was debated at length in late 1950s. Pedagogues at that time argued that the curriculum of the reformed gimnazija should have three parts - obligatory instruction, electives and free activities. The purpose of each part was explained, in the 1950s, as follows.

Obligatory instruction is...the basis for student's intellectual, moral, esthetic, technical, and physical education....and takes 2/3 of the total work time....

Elective instruction (seminars, electives and various other courses) was to create

possibilities for the youth to go deeper and wider into certain scientific disciplines or new areas and in that way acquire new knowledge and skills that will positively influence the development of its capabilities and its life affirmation. Such courses would give the student a chance to choose their occupation immediately after completing high school.

Free activities would center on the student associating with friends and academic peers in

scientific groups, independent youth associations and clubs, physical training and sports organizations, clubs of national

techniques...for the development of the community.²²⁷

These obligatory and elective parts of a typical curriculum they were trying to reform were organized, in 1959, as shown at left in Figure 15 (with exception of free activities that are not apparent in any curriculum). This model reverts to the design used in previous chapters to describe curriculums (but modified in the chapter concerning the military systems). The curriculum is shown with the Bosnian and U.S. equivalent grade numbering system below the title. Each column then represents the number of course hours per week in each year. The total course hours per academic year is then shown at the right-most column of each curriculum year.

Secondary School Curriculum Reforms 1960 -1980

In the 1959 curriculum design, students could elect one of two directions in their electives - a social science-linguistics program or a natural science-mathematics program. The curriculum shown at the left in Figure 15 is for the social science-linguistic elective program. The first year of secondary school was the same for all students with the elective program beginning in the second year.²²⁸ It is interesting that the curriculum for *all* students that had been in effect just six years earlier required three foreign languages - German, Latin, and an elective language. The new, "reformed" curriculum of 1959 required only two languages - Latin and an elective, for students pursuing a specialty in linguistics. This typical model would remain essentially unchanged for another 20 years when reform would again take center stage.

The debate over electives, and their purpose, would again surface during the late

1970s and early 1980s. In the ensuing 20 years of curriculum development the Yugoslavian pedagogues recognized that (unlike forced redistribution of wealth) "...ability is not evenly distributed."²²⁹ Therefore, an adjustment to the curriculum was seen as necessary in order to allow for those with different abilities to seek different avenues to capitalize on their unique abilities. Or at least that is what one would normally expect to be the motive for development of an elective program. But it was not the case here.

The 1970/80 reform movement, addressing the options for an elective program, was not motivated by a spirit to liberate the minds of their youth. Their motive was to ensure that the educational leadership could control the inevitable "...hidden form of social selection...."²³⁰ that would surely occur if the students were allowed to select too many electives in their junior and senior years of secondary schools. Therefore the model that was designed to control these dangerous tendencies among free-thinkers would be a devotion of 70 percent of the curriculum to common general studies and 30 percent to *occupationally* oriented studies. Over 200 experts from all over Yugoslavia gathered for about three years to make this new curriculum reform a reality. Absolutely *not* surprisingly, after all that work the reformed curriculum failed. Slovenia, most vocal, expressed their rejection in anti-constitutional words (the Constitution of 1974 recognized formally the de facto independence of the Yugoslavian republics in almost all matters, especially education). In other parts of the republic, there were similar reactions and strong non-cooperation with the proposed curriculum.²³¹ But the system would not give up. In another 20 years the pedagogues of Bosnia would get to try again.

Figure 15. Comparison of the Social Science Linguistic Program of Bosnian Public Secondary Schools - 1959 and the 1999 Reformed Curriculum

	1959 Gimnazija Curriculum Hours					1999 Gimnazija Curriculum Hours				
Bosnian Grade Numbering	V	VI	VII	VIII	Total	V	VI	VII	VIII	Total
U.S. Grade Numbering	9	10	11	12		9	10	11	12	
Subjects										
Religion									2	2
Serbo-Croatian	4	4	4	4	16	4	4	3	3	14
Foreign Language 1	3	4	4	5	16	3	3	3	3	12
Foreign Language 2						See Electives Below				
Latin	2	2			4			3		3
History	3	3	3	3	12	2	2			4
Geography	3	2		2	7	2	2			4
Physics	2	2	2		6	5	5			10
Chemistry		2	2		4					
Mathematics	4	3	2	2	11	4	4	3	3	14
Philosophy				3	3				3	3
Sociology			2	3	5			2		2
Biology	2	2	2		6					
Logic/Psychology			2		2			2		2
Political Education	2	2			4		3			3
General Technical Education	1	1	2	2	6					
Art/Singing	2	1	1	2	6	2	2			4
Information Science						3				3
Physical Education	3	3	3	3	12	2	2	2	2	8
Army Education			2	2	4					
Hours/Week/Year	31	31	31	31	124	27	27	18	16	88
						Electives				
						Foreign Lang 2	3	3		
						Natural Sciences	3	3		
						Mathematics	3	3		
						Programming		3		
						Social Science	3	3		
						Junior/Senior Year Electives	▶ 11		13	
						Hours/Week/Year	30	30	29	29
										118/7

Source for 1959 Curriculum. Vera Tomich, *Education in Yugoslavia and the New Reform*, USGPO, 1968. 72.Source for 1999 Curriculum. MoE - Sarajevo Canton, *Suggestion of Teaching Plan for High School*, April 1999.

In 1999, the pedagogues of the Sarajevo Canton education system would again address the issue of curriculum design with an eye to accommodating the ever-present demands from the students and the world marketplace for a better elective program. The latest model of a typical secondary school curriculum that was recommended by the staff of one of Sarajevo's secondary schools is shown at the right in Figure 15. The elective issue, still alive after over 40 years of debate and evolution, is shown in the separate block below the core (obligatory) courses. Instead of only two elective directions, there are now five - foreign languages, mathematics, natural science, programming and social science. The student also begins studying electives in the first year, albeit only three hours per week, rather than in year two as in previous models. Students are able to change an elective direction after they have completed their second year of secondary school if they discover they really are, for example, a much better mathematician than linguist. The 1999 reforms also address another issue that has been alive for 50 years in the ex-Yugoslavian states - "overburdening."²³²

Overburdening

A student was required to take 31 hours of instruction per week in 1959. This worked out to roughly five or more class periods a day depending upon the subject. Some subjects consumed two or more hours per class day. But, the number of classes and the tempo with which the study requirements were delivered, has been a constant source of friction between students and faculty since the end of World War Two. The education organ for Bosnian educators, *Prosvjetni List*, (Education Journal), for the 50 years following the end of the war, has always argued the issue of reforming (or not reforming) the burdens of a 30+ hour curriculum on the students. This issue was still alive in 1999. The coordinators of the 1999 curriculum reform acknowledged that their efforts should result in a

...true reduction of curricula (teaching plans and programs) like in the spring putting in order the orchards by removing the unproductive coppice and leaving only the branches that, skillfully thinned, will give quality fruit. The present plans and programs are full of useless coppice.²³³

The results of this reduction are apparent in Figure 15. The total class hours between the 1959 and 1999 models are reduced by six, from 124 to 118. The first and second years lose one hour and two hours are reduced in each of the third and fourth years of study. What the final curriculum design will look like is not yet known. It is also not clear if the overburdening issue will be solved with this latest attempt at curriculum reform. This adjustment, however, will probably make the students in future academic years a little happier with their workload if the course load is actually reduced, and undoubtedly the teachers will be happier too.

With the review of just two of the traditional problem areas in Bosnian educational development complete, it is important to gain an appreciation for what the people of Bosnia think, today, about these and other educational issues that affect(ed) their lives.

Surveying the Bosnians

Being happy with school, whether a student or faculty, is a result of many forces at work other than just the number of classes to attend and the ability to elect interesting courses. The human dynamics of language, religion, and control (parental involvement, perceptions of discrimination, etc.) coupled with expectations of the future (based on the value of schooling) and many other factors influence public perceptions of the Bosnian education system. The impact of these, and other, factors and perceptions of Bosnians about their schools were sought in a survey of faculty and students in two Sarajevo public secondary schools and students in a private English language school

run by a Bosnian entrepreneur. The public schools were the Dobrinja (doebreenya) Gimnazija and the Ekonomska Šredna Škola (Economics High School). The private language school was named Kajalingua.

The Survey

The survey sought to gather perceptions of faculty and students in selected Bosnian schools to verify hypotheses about their systems, and reach conclusions that would hopefully assist future development of those systems. The survey was a Likert model using simple positive and negative comments and statements to generate responses ranging from Strongly Agree, Agree, Not Applicable (or Don't Know), Disagree, or Strongly Disagree. The survey was written in both English and Bosniak/Croatian.

In order to focus the survey, 11 Major Hypotheses were developed. These hypotheses grew from issues and challenges found during the historical research and discussions with Bosnian students and faculty. Responses to the comments supporting these 11 Major Hypotheses would serve as indicators of the influence of language, religion, control, and quality of schooling. There is relevance of these hypotheses to education systems in other eastern Balkan countries like Rumania or Macedonia since these countries are more alike than they are different.

The survey contained 49 total comments. Of these 49, 37 of them proved useful enough to provide a perspective of their school experiences and address, in some part, the 11 Major Hypotheses. These comments are organized below together with the Major Hypothesis for which they were designed to provide feedback. The rationale for each Major Hypothesis follows the list of comments.

11 Major Hypotheses and Supporting Comments

Major Hypothesis 1. Language in Bosnian education systems can be problematic.

- 17. My teachers were multilingual
- 18. Teachers spoke to me in my dialect.
- 24. Language difficulties never arose in my secondary school

Language, throughout the previous centuries of educational development, has been a problem for students across Bosnia. The continuous arguments about which language, or dialect, to teach in has proved detrimental to the system. This hypothesis sought to determine the current level of difficulty - if any,

Major Hypothesis 2. Religion can influence the education system today.

- 33. I attended a religious school for at least part of my schooling
- 48. Religious instruction was an integral part of the school day for everyone in the school

Religion, like language, has influenced education for centuries. Whether Muslim or Christian, the presence of interventionist clerics has marked the transition of education systems over time. The level of religious schooling among the Bosnians was sought to determine its relative influence.

Major Hypothesis 3. Parents are involved in Bosnian education.

- 6. My parents take an active part in my secondary education
- 38. My parents never seemed to care about what I did at school

Perceptions of parental involvement were sought, because this is one of the single most important contributing factors to a student's success in school and an effective education system.²³⁴ The research also revealed that the communist state was not reluctant to try and displace or dilute parental influence in favor of state-driven social and moral education.

Major Hypothesis 4. Teachers were/are competent in Bosnian education.

7. Teachers in my school are competent

16. Teachers are very good in my school

23. My teachers seemed well trained for educating me

30. My academic subject teacher(s) know what they are talking about

How the students felt about their teacher's competency was sought because the pedagogical practices of the ex-Yugoslavian system were almost completely tied to didactic methods that would have significant impact on the efficiency of the system. Also the system may have been influenced significantly by teacher training in foreign countries.

Major Hypothesis 5. Positive teacher-pupil relations make for positive education experiences.

41. All my teachers expect interaction from me

49. It is important to me that I know my teacher likes me

In concert with the previous two comments, the aspects of teacher-pupil relations were sought because the level of interaction in a system devoted to didactic pedagogy, and the state's apparent design to overcome parental influences on student development. Student perceptions of the apparent affection of their teachers also provides clues as to the nature of the system.

Major Hypothesis 6. Resources affect perceptions of education.

11. My books are adequate for what I have to study

26. The equipment we use for technical work, like microscopes, slide rules, and such are adequate for our tasks

27. The tools we use for vocational work, like saws, meters, and auto diagnostic equipment are adequate

35. My classrooms were bright, warm, and comfortable

37. We have the proper materials and books with which to study properly

Throughout the research the affect of resources on learning and system efficiency was

an issue. Some teachers I interviewed said the level of resources was significant in their own learning and how well their own students could learn. Others said it was not. This is not a new debate. The struggle for and about money and its relationship to learning is a longstanding one.

Major Hypothesis 7. Cheating degrades education systems.

15. Cheating is considered a bad thing in my school

Cheating is pandemic in the education systems of the Balkans. Why it is so and what it means for the future could best be answered by seeking the perceptions of the students about this behavior.

Major Hypothesis 8. Challenging academics were/are present in Bosnian systems.

22. Academic subjects are very hard and challenging

43. What I have learned in school seemed to make sense and was logical

This aspect of the Balkan education system (and #9 that follows) was sought to see what the students thought about how difficult their studies were and the level of effort required to complete their studies.

Major Hypothesis 9. Bosnian systems focus on career preparation and the curriculums are adequate for this goal.

14. I can make my own career choice in secondary school

19. It appears my school will prepare me well for my chosen vocation

Student's perceptions of the system's design in assisting them to prepare for their future career and the adequacy of the curriculum to meet those career tasks were sought since these two factors were/are? supposedly strong characteristics of socialist, centrally-managed teaching systems.

Major Hypothesis 10. Gender bias does not exist anymore in Bosnian systems.

20. Girls are expected to meet the same academic standards as boys

47. Girls seem to be smarter and more mature than boys in my school

The public school systems of the Balkans did not begin to desegregate based on sex until the mid-1950s. The traditions of the Ottoman system supported this method and also lent to sexual segregation in religious schools. Perceptions were sought of how this previously overt, and now more latent, bias against women might still prevail in the system.

Major Hypothesis 11. Discipline is a problem in Bosnian schools.

32. Students are very disciplined in school and rarely does anyone disobey

36. We have lots of fights in the classrooms between students

Since the preceding ex-Yugoslavian systems were thought to be fairly serious about, and strict in, the enforcement of discipline, perceptions of how serious a problem discipline was/is, or was/is not, were sought.

The next section introduces the survey population.

Survey Overview Data

The survey was designed principally to obtain perceptions about respondent secondary school experiences and to make some assessments of the ex-Yugoslavian and current Bosnian education systems. Several comments sought to generate some basic data/perceptions about/of the respondents. This data is reflected in the table below in Figure 17.

Figure 17. Student/Faculty Survey Overview Data

Surv Cmt No.	Comment/Statement	DG	EHS	Ka- jalin- gua	Survey Total
	# Fac/Students	5/120	15/78	0/26	20/224
8.	# Students Female/Male	75/45	56/22	22/4	153/71
5.	% students with all schooling in Bosnia	73%	87%	66%	75%
10.	% students thinking boys and girls play school sports after school	9%	14%	9%	11%
12.	% concerned about world events	80%	70%	60%	70%
42.	% whose teachers taught about world events	23%	43%	40%	35%
21.	% provided free lunch at school	0%	0%	0%	0%
34.	% thinking lecture most common form of teaching	80%	80%	90%	83%
44.	% working a job after school	40%	30%	10%	26%
45.	% moving at least once to a foreign country	25%	23%	30%	27%
46.	% with some association with military schooling	18%	16%	32%	22%

A glance at the percentages above then reveals some basic ideas about the surveyed population. They

- did not move around very much
- did not play sports after school
- were concerned about world events
- were not taught about world events very much by their teachers
- got no free lunch at school
- were lectured to most of the time in school
- worked rarely after school; about 1 in 4
- had little association with the ex-Yugoslavian and Army of the Federation military

Survey Results

Each of the next three sections discusses the results of the surveys provided by the faculty and students at the three locations in the city of Sarajevo. The city sits in central Bosnia in a place called, historically, Vrh Bosna (or High Bosnia). The city is about 13 kilometers

in length with this long axis running almost directly east-west. It is only about four kilometers wide, being hemmed in on the north and south by steep mountains.

The order of the schools surveyed was first the Dobrinja Gimnazija, a school literally built from the ashes of the destruction of the recent civil war. This school sat only several hundred yards from the front lines at the western end of the Sarajevo near the airport. The second school was the Ekonomika Šredna Škola (Economics High School - or EHS) which is virtually in the city center. The last was a private English language school in the Bistrik or part of "old town" that is on the eastern end of the city. The analysis for each school will discuss each major hypothesis and the relevant comments that had significant results. In the comparison part, which concludes this chapter, each major hypothesis will be addressed as it relates the schools to each other.

Dobrinja Gimnazija Survey Results

Introduction

At this school five teachers and 120 students responded to the survey over a period of about four weeks. Their survey results are in several parts. The first part is an introductory description of the school and the staff. The survey results constitute the second and third part dealing with the faculty responses and then student input respectively. A summary table of survey results follows each of these parts. The fourth part is conclusions.

The School

Driving amidst the many very tall high-rise apartment buildings of the area in western Sarajevo known as Dobrinja it would not be

obvious that there is a high school among the buildings - except when the school day is beginning or ending. Dobrinja Gimnazija was built inside an abandoned department store sandwiched between many others stores that literally form the ground level floor of the high-rise apartments. The entrance is nondescript, looking just like the doors of any other collection of storefront property around Sarajevo. This high school literally rose from the front lines of the recent civil war. The inside is decorated with the student artwork typical of any high school in the world - from the valiant attempts of those without an ounce of talent but lots of desire to those with a hint of artistic potential. But the artwork does not distract the observer from most of the crude workmanship that was required to divide the innards of the department store into hallways and classrooms. Space is very tight inside this school. There

are other classrooms across, and down the street, from the main school. These displaced classrooms are on the ground floor of another high-rise apartment. They too are very small and tight, just like the ones in the main school. But inside the magic of learning occurs. During this initial visit I met two of the hard-working educators of the high school. What follows is a summary of their stories.

The Faculty

During my first visit I met with one of the principal architects of the school's creation - Sabiha Miskin. She graduated from the Sarajevo University Philosophy Faculty in 1976. For the period 1982-84 she worked with the Pioneer House in Kakinja. Her principal tasks centered on the politicization and ideological training for elementary school students in the Pioneer House. In 1984 she joined the municipality of Novi Grad and worked there until 1992. Her main duties there were to act as a community advisor for local defense plans, refugee assistance, and mobilization tasks - fire-fighting and securing water and food. In 1992 she moved to Sarajevo and became involved in building the high school.

Ms. Miskin, and her staff, are aware of the challenges facing their education system. The current educational system is a combination of historical forces that have impacted upon Bosnia. There is the Austro-Hungarian influence and the Russians have made an impact also. The scope, duration and complexity of the curriculum is one of their most demanding challenges. There are commonly six or seven subjects a day each lasting 45 minutes. The students are under a lot of pressure to produce in all of these subjects. Such a level of production requires a lot of hard work. The students that strive and seek to do the best they can must commit about 15 hours a day to their schoolwork. These teachers believe that kids too often leave high school exhausted and find their first relief in the slower pace of the uni-

versity system. One of the central questions is whether that sort of pace is really required at the secondary level.

Here at this school, as in other schools, the teachers tend to view their own subject as the most important in the student's academic life. This ethic evolves from a pedagogical system (or lack of it) that does very well at making a teacher an expert in the technical standards of his or her chosen subject but does not do well in developing pedagogical skills to teach. This mindset can carry teachers to make statements which are obviously not in the students best interests, i.e. a physics teacher (not from Dobrinja Gimnazija) telling the physics students that they are bad citizens if they don't know physics. In other words the system produces teachers knowledgeable of what to teach but also unfamiliar with the best method in how to teach. Sabiha and her colleagues know it will take time to change the typically didactic teaching methods of the past and move to a more interactive methodology. The imbedded politicization of the process will be difficult to overcome. Teachers who are never taught to engage in critical, but civil, review of curricula and pedagogy with their superiors will not take on such a thing without fear and trepidation.

Ms. Miskin knows the didactic method of teaching will die hard in Bosnia. She knows her teachers are great at lecturing facts. The students know how many gold mines there are in the world and how many sheep there are in Australia but not why those things are true. They know even less about their home country of Bosnia. Some teachers, as well as Sabiha, suspect that the secondary school is just an extension of the grammar school system where students remain essentially at the recall level of learning and do not progress into the higher levels of learning.

My second visit was with Almira Arnaud. This young woman recently graduated from the Natural Science Faculty of Sarajevo University in January 1999, and she now teaches mathematics in Dobrinja Gimnazija. Her students know the democratic process

prevalent in western pedagogical systems. Her students know about interactive learning. They ask her to adjust her teaching to be more democratic. The curriculum, however, is dictated and she must adhere to the general schedule given to her. The students ask her to adjust the examination schedule if they are not ready to take the examination as scheduled. She tries to support them. Almira makes an interesting observation that the Bosnian mathematics system is better than western ones, but less demanding than the Russian system. She acknowledges the mathematics program in Russia is very tough. She supports an elective process which will allow students genuinely interested in mathematics to take mathematics electives rather than being hostage to elective subjects which do not interest them. She also agrees that the curriculum is overbooked, requiring too many subjects per day and week.

Faculty Survey.

The faculty survey was divided into two parts. The first part dealt with their perceptions of their own secondary education (49 responses) and a second part sought feedback on their university education (25 responses).

Faculty Secondary Education.

Major Hypothesis 1. Language in Bosnian education systems can be problematic. The faculty did not remember their own teachers displaying any multilingual talents. They also were very positive (80 percent +) that there were no language difficulties in their school years.²³⁵

Major Hypothesis 2. Religion can influence the education system today. Less than 20 percent of the faculty attended religious school of any kind while growing up. None of the faculty experienced religious instruction as part of their weekly curriculum. Why the 20 percent who attested to attending some sort of

religious schooling did not also respond about religion in their curriculum is unknown.

Major Hypothesis 3. Parental Involvement. The faculty responded positively (80 percent) that their parents supported them actively in their secondary education. Given their age spread, the period of retrospection would be roughly in the window of 1965-1975. Therefore their recollections would emerge from the relative stability of the Tito years. There was no significance as to which ages were positive and which were negative about parental involvement.

Major Hypothesis 4. Teacher Competence. Generally the faculty remembered their teachers as competent and relevant to their lives (80 percent positive). This is consistent with perceptions of other Bosniaks with whom I interact (but who are not educators). They also remember the security of the Tito years and often express their sincere desire to return to those times.

Major Hypothesis 5. Teacher-pupil relations. The faculty had positive recollections of their own teacher's demands for student-teacher interaction with fully 60 percent having such a positive recall. When responding to the comment about whether or not it was important that they knew their teacher liked them, the faculty were evenly split: 40 percent agreeing, 40 percent disagreeing, and 20 percent did not know.

Major Hypothesis 6. Resources. The responses sought in this category ranged from adequacy of books, classroom comfort, and lab equipment. The respondents were unanimous in their recollection of adequate resources in their secondary schools. Over 80 percent thought their books, classrooms, and technical equipment were adequate. The faculty were not happy with the state of their vocational tools (60 percent negative) in their school experience. This perception lowered the positive recollection rate to just 68 percent overall.²³⁶

Major Hypothesis 7. Cheating. The majority of faculty thought that cheating was considered a bad thing in their own school years. The fact that so many allow it to occur openly in their classrooms tends to make one wonder if they still believe it to be so.

Major Hypothesis 8. Challenging Academics. The faculty response to this comment is unlike any other discovered. Fully 80 percent were unanimous in responding that their academic programs were *not* challenging. So while the resources provided for learning were good and adequate, the level of challenge in the actual curriculum was apparently not. This is somewhat surprising since there was, and to some degree remains today, a perspective in the western pedagogical world that the curriculums of the communist countries were, and remain, quite challenging.

Major Hypothesis 9. Career preparation and adequacy of curriculum. Over 80 percent of the faculty thought they could make their own career choices in their secondary school experience. This means one of two things. First, that the teachers responding to the survey are all ex-communists (because only they could make such choices in secondary school - non-party members were told what to do and where to go). Or secondly that the level of centralized planning in the centralized economic/education system was not so strong as to require very stringent adherence to centrally directed career positioning by the students. Only 60 percent thought that their secondary schooling adequately prepared them for their chosen profession.

Major Hypothesis 10. Gender bias. The faculty was fairly certain that girls were expected to meet the same academic standards as boys when they were in secondary school. This appears to be true even if they were in a segregated school system. There must have been plenty of after school comparisons of effort and results between the sexes. Otherwise it would have been difficult to know how to respond to the comment concerning expectations of boys and girls academically if such comparisons were not made. When responding about their perceptions of whether or not girls were more mature than boys, 60 percent thought they were not.

Major Hypothesis 11. Discipline. Fighting seems to have been a rare thing in the faculty's secondary school years with fully 80

percent responding that it was rare. The same percentage remembered that their classrooms were a disciplined place with rule-breaking a rare-event.

Faculty University Education.²³⁷

Course Work. Fully 60 percent of faculty thought their university work was not challenging. Again 60 percent also disagreed that students had to work hard in the university. In opposition to these results was their response about the nature of learning in their university years. The respondents were evenly split among those who agreed, didn't know and disagreed that lectures were the preferred form of teaching and that they (the students) did not actually have to do anything in the classroom.

University Inflexibility. Fully 60 percent thought their university leadership was inflexible, led them to narrow specialization and limited student opportunity to pursue other subjects. This is consistent with other findings in other recent research about education in the Balkans.

Written Comments²³⁸

19 year old female student. "Right now (April 99) I'm a student in/at Sarajevo University and situation is the same. I, as a student of English language, have the following subjects-1. English Language II, 2. English Literature--Poetry of the 19th C. and Novels of the 18th and 19th C., 3. History of the USA, 4. Pedagogy. As you can see the system has not changed. Even though I want to study, or in better words - learn, Spanish, I'm not able to do that at my University. I can only do it by taking private lessons."

Cheating. Over 60 percent of faculty agreed that cheating was an acceptable form of cooperation among students in the university. This is inconsistent with their previously given perceptions of cheating in secondary school, which the majority viewed as a bad thing there. Why cheating became an acceptable form of

cooperation at the university level but not so at the secondary level requires further analysis.

Writing. A large majority (80 percent) responded they did not have to write extensive papers for their university courses. Why this is so remains to be found but I suspect there may be a connection between the didactic pedagogical style of the middle 20th century and writing demands that create inquiry – the natural foe of the didactic teacher.

Elitist Universities. The faculty was in agreement with about 80 percent responding that the university system was, prior to 1992, and remains, to some degree, elitist. This is consistent with findings of other recent research into the ex-Yugoslavian university system.

The Refuge. I had discovered in other research that those researchers had determined the students in Bosnian universities perceived the university as a way to escape the realities of life beyond its walls. 60 percent of the respondents to this comment did not think this was true.

Other Perceptions

The senior teachers in this school realize it will take two or three generations of teachers to become attuned to interactive learning styles. They realize that to become competitive in the growing global economy they must move away from over reliance on didactic methods and become more willing to teach from the interactive model in their pedagogical processes. But they are hopeful of continued progress.

A faculty member favored grading only at the mid-term, rather than on the trimester (or three times a year after each three-month session). This teacher also wanted objective standards (norms) set for grading standards. It is too early in the research to make an analysis of this change. After more surveys and discussions this issue might be clearer.

19-year-old female student: "Grading at the mid-term is not a bad idea. Students could master the syllabus more successfully."

19 year-old female student. "Testing should be as frequent as possible, and grading only at the mid-term so students would study regularly."

A faculty member stated that practical work should get more attention and less theory. This is consistent with much of the current research on Balkan education and affects all Balkan states; Romania, Albania, etc.

19-year-old female student: "I agree with the professor, whoever it is."

19 year-old female student. (Practical work) "With what? There is no budget to cover that." (This is a "poor" school)

A faculty member mentioned there was no undisciplined behavior in schools. This perception is inconsistent with other significant personal feedback supplied to me. Also, the education literature written in the same period as this faculty member is reporting (remembering), indicates some challenges with discipline.

19 year-old female student. "Where is his school? There are bullies in every school."

Tenure. Tenure seems an insurmountable problem here. The senior leadership spoke of tenure as an unbreakable protection for teachers, even the grossly incompetent ones. It seems no matter how much documentation might be prepared and required counseling sessions conducted, that the bad teachers cannot be removed. The students related similar frustrations about certain teachers who, even after parent petitions, could not be removed. But others were more positive.

19 year-old female student. "Bad teachers can be removed. That is what we did in the academic year 1996/7. I was a senior and we got, after two years with one (good teacher), a new math teacher who was bad. He used to work with former Yugoslavia's math team and he asked for too much from us, and at the same time we gained nothing. In our school, one girl was the best mathematician in Bosnia and when she complained, our headmaster had no choice (but too remove the bad teacher) Bad teachers can be removed."

Electives. The senior leadership of the school provided me a copy of their response to the Sarajevo Canton Minister of Education on how electives might be introduced into the Canton standard curriculum. The model is a good start and will be a great first step in letting a little creativity flow into the teacher's and student's lives. Their solution is the one presented at the right in Figure 15.

Student Surveys

At the Dobrinja Gimnazija 120 students, ranging from 15 to 19 years old, responded to the survey. They completed essentially the same survey as the faculty, except their survey did not contain the portion relating to a university education, for obvious reasons. The summary that follows addresses only the comments with some significant results.

Major Hypothesis 1. Language in Bosnian education systems can be problematic. Boys were more positive (50 percent) that their teachers were not multi-lingual while about 30 percent of girls thought they were. When recollecting about their teacher's use of their own dialect the girls were much more positive (80 percent agreeing and 20 percent did not know) than the boys (70 percent agreeing and 30 percent did not know). Both groups were most positive (80 percent) that language difficulties did not arise in their schooling.

Major Hypothesis 2. Religion can influence the education system today. About 20 percent of students attended some sort of religious school in their academic years but none of the student responders remembered any religion in their curriculum. It is possible that these two comments were not understood to be contextually related to each other. No one wrote anything about religion either.

Major Hypothesis 3. Parent Involvement. The first comment in the survey said the respondent's parents took an active part in their secondary education. For this comment 70 percent of the 15-16 year olds had a positive view

of their parent's interest in their education. Of the 18-19 year olds, 70 percent disagreed that their parents took an active part in their education. The second comment referred to parent's interest in the respondent's schoolwork. Responses to this second comment were consistent for the 15-16 year olds and inconsistent for the 18-19 year olds (both male and female). Why this disparity occurred is unclear. Once a larger population is surveyed the reason for this apparent disparity may be revealed.

16-year-old female student: "Addition to the comment about parent participation.

It is important to stress that the students understood the word "active" completely conditionally. Many students certainly understood that comment as the interest of their parents for their work in school, and not as the interest of parents for undertaking some action in order to try to solve the problem together with their children.

There are, unfortunately, a large number of parents who are not interested, or they do not want to show their interest because they are afraid that their child will become completely dependent upon them.²⁹ Some of them think that forbidding of going out would positively influence the work and behavior of their children in school.

In order to change something there has to be a strong support of both parents and professors. Parent gatherings could be organized at which all together would try to do something for the individual student."

19-year-old female student: "That is how our parents were when we were younger. They paid attention to our grades, behavior and discipline during the teaching and in everything else. Their change maybe depends on the fact that they think we have grown up, that they cannot write our homework any more, and that, in fact, we have to get used to solving our problems ourselves."

Major Hypothesis 4. Teacher Competence. Four comments asked for responses about teacher competence. The trend among the 15-16 year olds continued with positive responses and the 18-19 year olds less positive.

Exactly 50 percent of the 19-year-old female respondents said they "didn't know" whether or not their teachers were well trained for teaching them. About 80 percent of the 19-year-old males stated the teachers were not well trained.

15-year-old male student: "My comment about previously mentioned question of teacher competence was different. I.e. I stated that some professors are not trained well. The reason for such a conclusion may be the fact that we are working with books that are out of date. For example, the textbook for the first grade (9th grade of high school) does not mention Compact Disks (CDs). The reason for that is that CD was not planned when the textbook was written. Or, maybe, I am not well informed. Professors are well prepared for teaching, because if they were not they would not be here. The facts show that. Only that they do not know how to show that, and they do not know how to leave a good impression on students. I think that it is not only the fault of professors, but of the program we are working with, as well."

Major Hypothesis 5. Teacher-pupil relations. The students were very confident (85+ percent) that their teachers expected interaction from them during their studies. Greater than 60 percent of all females thought it was important that they knew their teacher liked them while only 30 percent of males did. In this response the girls were essentially evenly balanced across all year-groups between those thinking affection important and those not. The boys were about the same until the 19-year olds. At this point fully 75 percent of the seniors either did not know or disagreed that it was important that their teachers liked them or not. All preceding age groups clearly thought it important. The decline in the 19-year olds may be due to simple maturation. By this time adolescent males probably think more about how much their girlfriends like them than anybody else - even their own parents.

19-year-old female student: "Concerning the love of professors towards students, that would be a good thing for students. At least, students would be sure that they have their support. I

think that it would be good if professors would be better towards us."

Major Hypothesis 6. Resources. Several comments asked respondents view on books, infrastructure, and meals in school. The students were not happy (65 percent negative responses) with the extremely Spartan nature of this particular school, which is understandable. The rooms were cramped and badly lit in some cases. But there are long term plans for a new school in the future. Finding the money to build it is another challenge. None of the 120 respondents had the slightest doubt about food. 100 percent knew their school did not feed them during the day

19-year-old female student: "Food is not the issue. I think that because of the conditions we work and study in, we, the students, cannot achieve good results. We do not have the will to study when we know what the classroom that we have to enter looks like. During the day we cannot see anything that is written on the blackboard, stools are piled up, it is too narrow, stuffy, and when professors start requiring of us to be disciplined and to follow the teaching during the 6th or 7th class, we really go mad. They cannot ask more of us because we cannot offer more. If, at least, the professors were more correct towards us and if they had more understanding, the students would do all more easily, because we would have a moral support and a correct attitude of professors."

Major Hypothesis 7. Cheating. As with the previous age group results, the 15-16 year olds thought cheating was considered a bad thing but many of the 17-19 year olds did not. This may be attributed to the older group becoming a little more realistic and less idealistic in their later school years.

19-year-old female student: "Concerning cheating I agree with 50 percent of comments, and with the other 50 percent I do not agree. You know as well what is the cause of cheating (coming to class unprepared). And why? Because we do not have enough time to prepare for 2 tests and for at least one more oral in one day. That is why the only thing left is to find our best way to deal with it. Because if you

get an F you will have a difficult time correcting it. (I know it from my experience)."

Major Hypothesis 8. Challenging Academics. This comment drew a significant number of "don't know" responses - males 40 percent and females 30 percent. Otherwise the students were in general agreement, (but not a majority of them) that the academics were demanding - males being at 40 percent and females at 50 percent.

15-year-old male student: "Challenging academics? Academics are challenging and demanding, as they should be. But the problem is that certain subjects are too challenging and demanding. For example, according to the information of some friends who are in the third grade (11th grade in high school) mathematics-information science orientation, (the subject of) biology is too demanding.

Major Hypothesis 9. Career Preparation and Adequacy of Curriculum. Boys and girls were almost identical in their responses concerning career choices and the curriculum to get them there. About 40 percent of the total survey population thought they could make their own career choices. This is not a good sign in a country that is supposed to be opening the doors of opportunity for their youth so the country can grow and progress. About 20 percent more (total about 60 percent) thought the curriculum was adequate to prepare them for their career - whatever it might be. This higher percentage concerning adequacy of curriculum is a much better indicator of efficiency in the education system.

Major Hypothesis 10. Gender Bias. Girls were very positive (90 percent) that they had to meet the same academic standards as boys. Boys were a little less confident (80 percent). But perceptions of the maturity level of girls over boys drew even responses. About 60 percent of boys responded that girls exhibited no greater maturity than boys did while 60 percent of the girls said that they did.

19-year-old female student: "We are all the same, but there are some exceptions who make some difference. There are boys who study better, and who are more disciplined than girls."

Major Hypothesis 11. Discipline. Approximately 50 percent of females and 60 percent of males (65 percent overall), did not agree that students were always disciplined and obeyed the rules. Exactly what kind of undisciplined behavior they saw happening was not clear. However, the type of undisciplined behavior apparently does not extend to fighting among the students as 75 percent of both males and females agreed that fighting was uncommon.

19-year-old female student: "Students make mistakes too, and I agree that sometimes we are not fair towards professors, but how could we when we have to sit in such classrooms for 7 school-hours, or 6 hours."

Student Comments About Things Not in the Survey

Several students spoke and wrote at length about things that were not specifically discussed in the survey or the first draft that they reviewed. Their comments are included here to enable the reader to gain a broader perspective of their perceptions.

Electives. Many students wrote about the need to include electives in the curriculum. They perceive a hidebound structure with no flexibility and to some degree the teachers will not, or cannot, work for change. The modified curriculum provided me by the school leadership will start that process but it will be a long and tough road.

16-year-old female student: *Electives*. "I think that would improve the situation of the education system in general, because every student would pay more attention to what he/she likes, and not to what he/she has to do for achieving the qualification."

19-year-old female student: "I think that electives would be a good idea."

Teacher Tolerance. The students were vocal about teacher tolerance. When I asked them to be specific they either did not understand what I said or were reluctant to be spe-

cific. The presence of their English teacher in the room when I was asking for their feedback was probably inhibiting, even though I had asked the teachers not to be present. Since it appeared the teacher was more interested in listening to me speak native American than being an informer for the leadership, I did not object. Eventually one student did elaborate. The main issue appears to be that when the student asks for assistance, I assume either academically or personally, that the teacher does not help. The teacher tells the student that it is their problem and to go away. I conclude there is a link between this student reported behavior and the tenure issue, especially as it might relate to the teachers who personal skills leave something to be desired. One student made a particularly insightful statement summarizing this issue. She said, "they do not teach us to go into life but that life goes into us."

19-year-old female student: "The English teacher is very good and she is one of the best professors. Professor Ljerka Ovčina is my class-master, and she is very reasonable and nice. Maybe she is not well enough for a pedagogue, but I think that, if all professors would be like her, this school would have much better reputation. So, she was nothing special, nobody even noticed her."

Syllabus Reduction - Overburdening. This issue was mentioned as often as tolerance. The number of courses per day and number of subjects per semester/year are very high in this system. It is amazing that the students can fathom them all and still pass exams on all the encyclopedic recall they must try to master. This is true also in the Sarajevo Catholic school, not just in the public schools.

15-year-old male student: "Extensive (too extensive) syllabus is definitely one of the biggest (if not the biggest) problems of our educational system."

School-leaving exam. As with tolerance and the syllabus, the leaving-school exam was high on the student's list of major issues. There used to be two of these exams. One occurred in the 8th grade and the other in the 12th. The students at Dobrinja Gimnazija said the 8th

grade exam was gone and only the one remained for 12th graders. The purpose of these leaving-school exams was, previous research says, to provide a method to discriminate between those who should go on to high school (gimnazija) and the university respectively. The students at Dobrinja Gimnazija said this was not true. They said there is no relationship between this exam and entering the university. If the latter is true, this then leads to the question - why have the exam at all? The students were badly misinformed because the school leaving examinations were designed specifically to cull out the students that the school (and in most cases political) leadership did, and did not, want going on to secondary and university level. See comments prior concerning statistics of the secondary school-entering exam.²⁰

19 year-old female student. "Worthy of more investigation, yes. Traumatic experience for everyone."

Conclusions.

In this part some conclusions will be drawn using the responses for the faculty and students in isolation and also in comparison to each other.

Major Hypothesis 1. Language in Bosnian education systems can be problematic. Fully 80 percent of both faculty and students disagree (or don't know) that their teachers were multilingual. However, students were very positive about their teacher's use of the student dialect during instruction. Both groups were positive that there were no language difficulties in their academic years.

Major Hypothesis 2. Religion can influence the education system today. The responses for faculty and students were inconsistent. While about 20 percent of both groups say they attended a religious school in their life, not one respondent from either group remembered religion, as a subject, being in the curriculum. The fault may lie in the phrasing of the two comments. Analysis of the EHS and

Kajalingua data may assist in further resolution of this apparent inconsistency.

Major Hypothesis 3. Parental Involvement. The faculty and students were within 10 percentage points of each other (80+/70+) in their perceptions of parental support for their educational challenges. The senior students, both boys and girls, were less than enthusiastic about their parent's involvement. Therefore it is probable that not much has changed significantly in the dynamics of family relationships over the decades separating these two groups of respondents.

Major Hypothesis 4. Teacher Competence. Faculty responded about 30 percentage points higher than students in their confidence rating about their own teacher's competency (80+ versus approximately 55+ aggregate). This variance can be attributed largely to the heightened expectations of youth in a country just now beginning to deal with the openness of western education systems. The youth expect change, and fast, in a region with significant cultural baggage going back a thousand years which mitigates strongly against change. But the programs are ongoing in the country to assist the teachers with learning a more open system - which is productive and good.

Major Hypothesis 5. Teacher-pupil Relations. Both faculty and students had positive recollections of their teacher-pupil interactions, 80+/60+ respectively. It is not clear why there is a 20-point difference between the two groups. If western educators working within the pedagogical system of Bosnia are teaching openness and interactive teaching styles to teachers imbued with didactic methodologies, it would seem, if the "old" teachers are applying the ideas they hear, the students satisfaction rate with their interaction with their teachers would be higher.

There was no significant variance between faculty and students when responding about their need for their teacher's affection. Both groups responded at about the 45 percent level that it was important while the remaining 65 percent either did not know or thought it unimportant.

Major Hypothesis 6. Resources. It is not surprising that 68 percent of the faculty had fond memories of good classrooms, equipment and books. They were in school during the relatively "good" times of the Yugoslavian communist era. The students, not unexpectedly, were just the reverse revealing a 65 percent negative recollection of their infrastructure. Once the Dobrinja Gimnazija is in a good building, these negative perceptions might reduce significantly.

Major Hypothesis 7. Cheating. About 75 percent of the faculty thought cheating a bad thing with 20 percent thinking it was not. A majority of the freshmen and sophomores of the school also saw cheating as bad thing. However, the 17-19 year old cohort of juniors and seniors (about 33 percent of all respondents) did not consider cheating a bad thing. They are closer to what is actually going on in their school.

Major Hypothesis 8. Challenging Academics. Faculty and students were consistent in their perceptions of the nature of their academics with both majorities saying the curriculum was not challenging. So while one main complaint by both groups is that the curriculum is too full, it appears they do not think it is too full of challenging subjects and tasks. There must simply be just too much of everything and of weak quality.

Major Hypothesis 9. Career preparation and curriculum. It is remarkable that the faculty, born and raised in the communist era of (apparently) centralized economic planning and career placement, had a very positive recollection of their own power in making career choices (80 percent) while the youth being educated in a newly democratic state had such low expectation of their own choices (less than 50 percent). This may, with almost certainty, be attributed to youthful lack of confidence that the leadership in place today in Bosnia is not any different than the leadership that dominated the country prior to the civil war. The actions of the High Representative (in the opening quote) seem to bear out the suspicions of Bosnian youth. If there was a consistent theme among

students that spoke to me it was for me to give them advice on how to get out of Bosnia. They saw little opportunity in Bosnia.

Major Hypothesis 10. Gender Bias. Both groups are consistent in their positive perceptions of girls being expected to meet the same academic standards as boys. Therefore it appears that although there was, and in some regions remains, a long-standing bias against the education of women in this region, it appears to be waning significantly.

Major Hypothesis 11. Discipline. A significant variance in perceptions about discipline in general (less fighting) appears between faculty and students. Fully 80 percent of faculty thought discipline was not a problem in their school lives. But about 65 percent of the boys and girls thought that discipline was a problem. This inversion may be attributed to two things. The teachers cannot remember all the problems they encountered in their own schooling so many years ago and the students of today see all the discipline problems while teachers never do.

Written Comments

The following conclusions are drawn from the written comments provided to me.

Curriculum. Faculty and students agree that the curriculum is too full. The ongoing initiative to make a 70 to 80 percent (Federation-directed subjects) - 30 to 20 percent (Canton-selected subjects) split in a standard curriculum requirements is a step in the right direction. However, it is not surprising that there is almost universal pessimism among educators that there will ever be consensus built for the 70 to 80 percent of Federation-directed subjects. Consensus building in Balkan cultures is not normal or rewarded. Such a maneuver failed in 1959 and again in 1981. There is little hope it will succeed now.

Electives. Measures ongoing to make an elective program are a positive sign. As with the standard curriculum, there is significant doubt that this initiative will gain any impetus soon. The students yearn for more intellectual flexibility.

Summary Table²⁴¹

The next set of figures - 18, 19 and 20, display the summary data for the Dobrinja Faculty, female and males students respectively. The column codes are - SA = Strongly Agree, A = Agree, NA = Not Applicable or Don't Know, D = Disagree, SD = Strongly Disagree

Figure 18. Dobrinja Faculty Survey Statistical Summary

	Percentiles				
	SA	A	NA	D	SD
2 I attended and have completed all years of a secondary school	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
3 My sec school stressed vocational subjects; carpentry, plumbing, auto mechanics	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.2
4 My secondary school stressed academic subjects such as math, writing, sciences	0.6	0.2	0.2	0.0	0.0
5 All my secondary schooling occurred in present day Bosnia	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0
6 My parents took an active part in my secondary education	0.6	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.0
7 Teachers in my school(s) were competent	0.6	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0
8 I am a (male) (female) and I attend a coed school	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.2	0.2
9 Homework was given by all teachers almost every night	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.2	0.2
10 The school planned and expected both boys and girls to play sports after school	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
11 My books were adequate for what I had to study	0.2	0.6	0.2	0.0	0.0
12 I did not care too much about world events in secondary school	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.6	0.2
13 We had a lot of field trips to interesting places	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.6	0.2
14 I can make my own career choice in secondary school	0.2	0.6	0.0	0.2	0.0
15 Cheating was considered a bad thing in my school	0.2	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.0
16 Teachers were very good in my school	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.0
17 My teachers were multilingual	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.2
18 Teachers spoke to me in my dialect	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
19 Secondary school prepared me well for my chosen vocation	0.0	0.6	0.2	0.0	0.2
20 Girls were expected to meet the same academic standards as boys in any subject	0.6	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.0
21 My school provided a lunch meal without cost to everyone	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.8
22 Academic subjects were very hard and challenging	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.4	0.4
23 My teachers seemed well trained for educating me	0.2	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.2
24 Language difficulties never arose in my secondary school	0.2	0.6	0.2	0.0	0.0
25 My grades were always accurate portrayals of my work	0.2	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.2
26 Equipment we used for technical work; microscopes, slide rules, were adequate	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.2
27 Tools we used for voc work: saws, meters, diagnostic equipment were adequate	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.4	0.2
28 My vocational teacher worked in a foreign country where he learned most of his skills	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
29 My technical teacher worked in a foreign country where he studied his subject	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
30 My academic teacher(s) knew what they were talking about when they taught	0.2	0.6	0.0	0.2	0.0
31 I walked to school every day	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.0	0.6
32 Students were very disciplined and rarely did anyone disobey or break the rules.	0.2	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.2
33 I attended a religious school for at least part of my schooling (Christian or Muslim)	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.6
34 The most common form of teaching in any class was the lecture	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.0	0.2
35 My classrooms were bright, warm, and comfortable	0.6	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.2
36 We had lots of fights in the classrooms between students	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.4
37 We had the proper materials and books with which to properly study	0.4	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0
38 My parents never seemed to care about what I did at school	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.4	0.4
39 The school day was split between two sections.	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
40 I rode a bus/tram to school every year throughout my secondary school	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.0
41 All my teachers expected interaction from me	0.2	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.0
42 I knew of current events outside my country because teachers talked about them	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.2
43 What I learned in school seemed to make sense and was logical	0.2	0.4	0.0	0.2	0.2
44 I worked at a job after school	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
45 I moved at least once to a foreign country during my secondary schooling	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.8
46 My secondary schooling was entirely in a civilian (nonmilitary) environment	0.6	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.2
47 Girls seemed to be smarter and more mature than boys in my secondary school	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.4	0.2
48 Religious instruction was an integral part of the school day for everyone in the school	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.8
49 It was important to me that I knew my teacher liked me	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2

Education in Bosnia

Figure 19. Dobrinja Female Students Survey Statistical Summary

	Percentiles				
	SA	A	NA	D	SD
2 I attended and have completed all years of a secondary school	0.9	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1
3 My sec school stressed vocational subjects; carpentry, plumbing, auto mechanics	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.6
4 My secondary school stressed academic subjects such as math, writing, sciences	0.6	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.0
5 All my secondary schooling occurred in present day Bosnia	0.6	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.1
6 My parents took an active part in my secondary education	0.4	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.1
7 Teachers in my school(s) were competent	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.1	0.0
8 I am a (male) (female) and I attend a coed school	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2
9 Homework was given by all teachers almost every night	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.4	0.1
10 The school planned and expected both boys and girls to play sports after school	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.4	0.3
11 My books were adequate for what I had to study	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.3	0.1
12 I did not care too much about world events in secondary school	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.4
13 We had a lot of field trips to interesting places	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.4	0.5
14 I can make my own career choice in secondary school	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1
15 Cheating was considered a bad thing in my school	0.4	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.0
16 Teachers were very good in my school	0.1	0.4	0.3	0.1	0.1
17 My teachers were multilingual	0.0	0.2	0.5	0.2	0.1
18 Teachers spoke to me in my dialect	0.5	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.0
19 Secondary school prepared me well for my chosen vocation	0.4	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.1
20 Girls were expected to meet the same academic standards as boys in any subject	0.6	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.0
21 My school provided a lunch meal without cost to everyone	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.7
22 Academic subjects were very hard and challenging	0.1	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.0
23 My teachers seemed well trained for educating me	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.1	0.0
24 Language difficulties never arose in my secondary school	0.5	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.1
25 My grades were always accurate portrayals of my work	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.1
26 Equipment we used for technical work; microscopes, slide rules, were adequate	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.5
27 Tools we used for voc work: saws, meters, diagnostic equipment were adequate	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.2	0.5
28 My vocational teacher worked in a foreign country where he learned most of his skills	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.1	0.2
29 My technical teacher worked in a foreign country where he studied his subject	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.1	0.3
30 My academic teacher(s) knew what they were talking about when they taught	0.3	0.4	0.2	0.0	0.0
31 I walked to school every day	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.2
32 Students were very disciplined and rarely did anyone disobey or break the rules.	0.0	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.1
33 I attended a religious school for at least part of my schooling (Christian or Muslim)	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.4	0.4
34 The most common form of teaching in any class was the lecture	0.3	0.5	0.1	0.1	0.0
35 My classrooms were bright, warm, and comfortable	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.5
36 We had lots of fights in the classrooms between students	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.5
37 We had the proper materials and books with which to properly study	0.1	0.3	0.1	0.4	0.1
38 My parents never seemed to care about what I did at school	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.4	0.5
39 The school day was split between two sections.	0.6	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.1
40 I rode a bus/tram to school every year throughout my secondary school	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.3
41 All my teachers expected interaction from me	0.4	0.5	0.1	0.1	0.0
42 I knew of current events outside my country because teachers talked about them	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.5	0.1
43 What I learned in school seemed to make sense and was logical	0.2	0.5	0.1	0.2	0.0
44 I worked at a job after school	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.5
45 I moved at least once to a foreign country during my secondary schooling	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.5
46 My secondary schooling was entirely in a civilian (nonmilitary) environment	0.6	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.1
47 Girls seemed to be smarter and more mature than boys in my secondary school	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1
48 Religious instruction was an integral part of the school day for everyone in the school	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.3	0.5
49 It was important to me that I knew my teacher liked me	0.2	0.4	0.2	0.1	0.1

Figure 20. Dobrinja Male Students Survey Statistical Summary

	Percentiles				
	SA	A	NA	D	SD
2 I attended and have completed all years of a secondary school	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
3 My sec school stressed vocational subjects: carpentry, plumbing, auto mechanics	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.4	0.5
4 My secondary school stressed academic subjects such as math, writing, sciences	0.4	0.5	0.1	0.0	0.0
5 All my secondary schooling occurred in present day Bosnia	0.6	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1
6 My parents took an active part in my secondary education	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.3	0.1
7 Teachers in my school(s) were competent	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1
8 I am a (male) (female) and I attend a coed school	0.4	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.2
9 Homework was given by all teachers almost every night	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.4	0.2
10 The school planned and expected both boys and girls to play sports after school	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.3
11 My books were adequate for what I had to study	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.0
12 I did not care too much about world events in secondary school	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.4	0.4
13 We had a lot of field trips to interesting places	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.3	0.4
14 I can make my own career choice in secondary school	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2
15 Cheating was considered a bad thing in my school	0.3	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.1
16 Teachers were very good in my school	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
17 My teachers were multilingual	0.0	0.1	0.3	0.3	0.2
18 Teachers spoke to me in my dialect	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.0	0.1
19 Secondary school prepared me well for my chosen vocation	0.3	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.1
20 Girls were expected to meet the same academic standards as boys in any subject	0.4	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.0
21 My school provided a lunch meal without cost to everyone	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.7
22 Academic subjects were very hard and challenging	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.0	0.2
23 My teachers seemed well trained for educating me	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.1
24 Language difficulties never arose in my secondary school	0.4	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.1
25 My grades were always accurate portrayals of my work	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.4	0.2
26 Equipment we used for technical work; microscopes, slide rules, were adequate	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.7
27 Tools we used for voc work: saws, meters, diagnostic equipment were adequate	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.7
28 My vocational teacher worked in a foreign country where he learned most of his skills	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.2	0.2
29 My technical teacher worked in a foreign country where he studied his subject	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.1	0.4
30 My academic teacher(s) knew what they were talking about when they taught	0.1	0.6	0.1	0.1	0.1
31 I walked to school every day	0.5	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2
32 Students were very disciplined and rarely did anyone disobey or break the rules.	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.4	0.2
33 I attended a religious school for at least part of my schooling (Christian or Muslim)	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.5
34 The most common form of teaching in any class was the lecture	0.5	0.4	0.0	0.1	0.0
35 My classrooms were bright, warm, and comfortable	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.7
36 We had lots of fights in the classrooms between students	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.4	0.3
37 We had the proper materials and books with which to properly study	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.4	0.2
38 My parents never seemed to care about what I did at school	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.4	0.4
39 The school day was split between two sections.	0.5	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.2
40 I rode a bus/tram to school every year throughout my secondary school	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.3
41 All my teachers expected interaction from me	0.4	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.1
42 I knew of current events outside my country because teachers talked about them	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.4	0.2
43 What I learned in school seemed to make sense and was logical	0.2	0.4	0.1	0.2	0.1
44 I worked at a job after school	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.3	0.4
45 I moved at least once to a foreign country during my secondary schooling	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.6
46 My secondary schooling was entirely in a civilian (nonmilitary) environment	0.5	0.3	0.0	0.1	0.1
47 Girls seemed to be smarter and more mature than boys in my secondary school	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.4
48 Religious instruction was an integral part of the school day for everyone in the school	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.6
49 It was important to me that I knew my teacher liked me	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.2

Economics High School Survey Results

Introduction

These results follow the previous model with an introductory description of the school and the staff, faculty responses, student input, and then conclusions.

The School

The main thoroughfare threading its way through the center of Sarajevo is called the "Dragon of Bosnia." Facing this six-lane avenue sits a light green, multi-story building which houses the Economics High School (EHS). This public school specializes in the theory and application of the basic economic principles in accounting, finance, banking, economic mathematics, business correspondence and marketing. The inside is painted white with dark green trim that is enhanced by the plants and foliage that abound within. The classrooms are large and fitted with well-made desks and chairs. The floors are spotless with a gleaming wax that reflects the ambient light throughout the school. On the second floor are numerous rooms available for meetings and conferences with quality furniture in each of them. The school is very cheery and bright. It is obvious that this school has never wanted for money. The well-kept atmosphere almost signals the potential for a bright future ahead for the students as they learn how to convert their previously centralized economic system to a decentralized, free-market one. It is obvious that the director, Mr. Avdija Serdarević runs a tight, well-organized school.

The Faculty

As an introduction to the staff of the EHS, I asked the director for permission to meet with some of his teachers to gain an initial feel for the school, their organization and

scheme of education. I met with three of the staff of the EHS to get a sensing for what their lives had been like as teachers of economics both under the previous system and now.

The first teacher was born in southern Herzegovina very near the Adriatic but has lived her recent life in Dobrinja, a suburb of Sarajevo. She attended the gimnazija in her hometown of Vitina. After high school she attended the University of Sarajevo graduating in 1977 with a degree in economics. Her first job was in a marketing department of a (then) state-run company. She began this work in September 1977. During the siege of Sarajevo she was not able to come to the city center and teach because of the danger in travel from Dobrinja, where she then lived, being about seven kilometers away. Her current workload is 19 classes per week, primarily teaching 10th and 11th grade students in Economic Mathematics, Finance and Business Correspondence. Besides the academic curriculum requirements, she is also required to perform the duties of a classmaster (homeroom), attend Teacher's Council sessions, and support students course demands in their electives. Almost all teachers at the school do these three additional duties.

The second teacher was born and raised in Sarajevo. She attended the very same EHS at which she is now a teacher. She also attended the University of Sarajevo, graduating with a degree in economics. In 1993 she taught in the "war school" located in Hrasnica, at the western end of the city, just across the Željeznica River. She was offered a one-year continuing contract with the EHS beginning in 1993 but by 1997 had secured tenure there. Like her fellow teachers, she lost her husband to the war. Her focus is on teaching economics to the 10th and 12th grades.

The third teacher was the youngest, graduating from the Economics Faculty of Sarajevo University in 1988. Like the previous teacher, she too attended the same EHS at which she now teaches. In fact, the first

teacher discussed at the start of this section was this teacher's professor for her high school education. After graduating from the university, she immediately joined an Import/Export Company in Sarajevo dealing with international trade and marketing. She was with this company until after the war ended. In 1996 she was brought onto the staff of the EHS and has been with them since.

Surveying the Faculty and Students

I had the surveys distributed among the faculty and students for their review and completion over a period of two weeks. 15 faculty responded as did 78 students. Their perceptions of their own past and current schooling are summarized here. Faculty is discussed first then the students.

Faculty Secondary Education

Major Hypothesis 1. Language in Bosnian education systems can be problematic. Faculty at this school were fairly positive that their own teachers were multilingual. About 30 percent did not know their teacher's language ability. Fully 80 percent reported that there were no language difficulties in their academic lives.

Major Hypothesis 2. Religion can influence the education system today. Only one of the 15 faculty respondents attended any religious schooling in their academic lives. Of the remaining 87 percent who attended secular schools over their academic experience, none remembered any religion in the curriculum design of their pre-civil war school years.

Major Hypothesis 3. Parental Involvement. About 93 percent of the faculty respondents thought their parents took an active part in their education. Only one respondent was not sure about this situation and there were none that thought their parents were not active part in their education. This perception was

generally consistent when carried over to the opposite response (seen later in the survey) that said, in a negative way, parents did not seem to care about what they did in school. However, the responses to this negative assessment also had 20 percent who thought their parents did not, in fact, care very much about what they did in school. These three respondents were in the middle age group (40 year-olds) of the nine age group possibilities. Exactly what this might mean is not yet clear. Maybe there were conditions present in these teacher's lives (late 1960s and early 1970s) which influenced parent-child relationships this way, or maybe, as throughout the rest of the world, their parents just didn't care very much about their child's schoolwork.

Major Hypothesis 4. Teacher Competence. There are four different possible responses in the survey to perceptions of teacher competence; all of them expressed in positive terms. 100 percent of the faculty respondents thought their teachers "competent", 80 percent thought them both "very good" and "well trained", and 100 percent thought their teachers "knew what they were talking about." Of the four respondents with some reservations about their teacher's goodness and training, three were in the same age group that had reservations about their parent's level of concern about their education. Whether they were the same people in both response sets cannot be determined. But overall there is little doubt that these faculty members remember their own teachers as competent.

Major Hypothesis 5. Teacher-pupil relations. Fully 100 percent of faculty respondents said their teachers expected them to interact in the academic setting. No one responded that they did not know or disagreed with this comment. The survey does not enable a discrimination between interaction expected because the teacher is an authority figure who *must* be responded to or interaction expected as a part of the teacher student dialogue that emerges in an interactive learning environment.

When the faculty responded about their own teachers "loving the students" 73 percent

of the respondents thought it important that they knew that the teacher loved them while 27 percent disagreed. No one was in doubt - i.e. "did not know." As in the responses concerning parental involvement and teacher competence, the respondents perceiving it not important that they knew the teacher liked them were in the center age group - 40 year-olds.

Major Hypothesis 6. Resources. When considering books, about 80 percent remembered their books as adequate and 13 percent as not. A later comment adds "proper materials" to "books". In this later response the level of satisfaction drops to 67 percent positive and increases to 27 percent negative. It is not clear whether or not the addition of "materials" caused this revised assessment. Again the respondents who were clearly less than satisfied with their learning materials were in the center (40 year-old) age group. The faculty liked their technical equipment but were equally dissatisfied with their vocational tools. Overall 60 percent of the faculty had a positive recollection of the resources in their school years.

Major Hypothesis 7. Cheating. A full 100 percent of the faculty thought that cheating was considered a bad thing in their own secondary school experience. This speaks well for team cohesion. It does not speak well for sensing what is really going on in schools in Bosnia.

Major Hypothesis 8. Challenging Academics. The faculty was almost evenly divided over the issue of how challenging their academic life was in secondary school. Fully 53 percent thought their academics were not challenging while 40 percent thought they were.

Major Hypothesis 9. Career preparation and adequacy of curriculum. In terms of making their own career choices the positive responses were high at 80 percent, the negative at 20 percent. When assessing the adequacy of the curriculum to make that career possible, it appears that the same 80 percent thought the curriculum adequate. It is remarkable, at least in the context of this sample size of 15 faculty respondents, that so many (12) said they could make their own career choices in an era (1950s-

1960s) with (theoretically) extremely centralized management of education. So tight, apparently was the control (exactly *who* might have had this control is in doubt however) that individual jobs, known to soon become vacant, were tied to individual seats and students in the school system feeding the work force. How so many students, when the sample size is extrapolated to the population in general at the time, could exercise such freedom is not consistent with descriptions of how the process worked at the time. Either the system as described in publications did not work as described (and there was *not* a high degree of centralized control), or the respondents are remembering things in a more positive light than they really were. For example, as recently as 1991 students were being programmed, individually, in high school for specific jobs in the electro-optical field.²⁴²

Major Hypothesis 10. Gender Bias. About 87 percent of the faculty thought girls were expected to meet the same academic standards as boys while 13 percent thought not. Perceptions of female maturity and intellect showed that 70 percent of the faculty agreed that girls seemed smarter and more mature than boys in secondary school while 27 percent did not agree.

Major Hypothesis 11. Discipline. The faculty was consistent in their views on discipline. When responding about the atmosphere in their own secondary school classroom experiences, 73 percent remembered that students were disciplined and rule-breaking rare. When responding about the frequency of fighting, the faculty thought it rare (67 percent).

Student Surveys

At the EHS 78 students, ranging from 15 to 19 years old, responded to the survey. They completed the same survey as the faculty.

Major Hypothesis 1. Language in Bosnian education systems can be problematic. Students were not sure about their teacher's language ability with 40 percent of boys and 50

percent of girls reporting they did not know about this particular skill level. However, the boys and girls in this school were at opposite ends in their recollections of their teacher's use of dialect during instruction. Fully 50 percent of girls said their teacher did use the student's dialect while 50 percent of the boys said they did not. Why this divergence exists is unknown.

Major Hypothesis 2. Religion can influence the education system today. Fewer than 20 percent of boys and girls had attended a religious school in their school years. The 80 percent who attended only secular school in their academic life remembered that there was no religious instruction in their curriculum.

Major Hypothesis 3. Parent Involvement. Boys and girls were fairly balanced in their responses to the level of parent involvement in their education. About 70 percent of each group agreed their parents were active. There were, however, 20 percent more boys who were positive their parents did not take an active part in their education (or put another way, 40 percent of boys and 20 percent of girls responded their parents did not take an active part in their education.). This negative view occurred more often in the 18-19 year-olds than in the 15-17 year-old set. Not one of the 18 year-old boys was positive about his parent's level of participation.

Major Hypothesis 4. Teacher Competence. Boys and girls were consistent in their evaluation of teacher competence with each group citing an overall 73 percent approval rating of their teachers. There were no males in the 15-17 year-old set (total nine) who strongly felt their teachers not competent but in the 16 year-old girls there were three who did think so (15-17 year-old set - total of 31). Eight of the 18-19 year-old boys and girls thought their teachers less than competent.

When responding whether or not their teachers were "very good", the boys and girls were consistent with each other, 70 percent of both groups rendering a positive assessment. Out of a total survey population of 78 students, only three strongly disagreed that their teachers

knew what they were talking about. It is possible that the wording of the comment about teachers being "good" is not phrased as well (or translated into Bosniak/Croatian) as the one about "knowing".

Major Hypothesis 5. Teacher-pupil relations. The students were very positive about the interaction expected by their teachers. The boys and girls had a very high confidence rate (85 percent) that their teacher's expected interaction from them. Student perceptions of how important it was that they knew their teacher liked them were mixed. About 50 percent of both boys and girls thought it was important but 30 percent (in both groups) *did not know* if it was or not.

Major Hypothesis 6. Resources. As with the faculty, the students responded to comments about infrastructure and learning materials here. About 50 percent of girls thought their books adequate and 40 percent thought not. The boys were more positive in their perceptions of text adequacy with 60 percent positive and 20 percent having negative feedback. The strong criticism of texts was confined mainly to the seniors in each group. In both groups it appears an inordinate percentage, about 55 percent, "don't know" about the quality of their technical tools - everybody must take science courses in the secondary school curriculum.

The surprising results in this "rich" school concerned the category of materials. Fully 45 percent of the respondents thought their materials adequate while another exact 45 percent thought them inadequate. Boys and girls expressed a similar level of dissatisfaction with their materials, 40 and 50 percent negative perceptions respectively.

When assessing vocational tools (saws, meters) 50 percent of girls thought them inadequate but only 40 percent of boys. Since the vocational fields are normally the male domain, it is interesting that more girls are critical of the tools used there than boys.

Overall the students expressed a 60 percent positive satisfaction rate with their school resources.

Major Hypothesis 7. Cheating. The students responded to the comment that "cheating was considered a bad thing in my school" as follows. Approximately 70 percent of all girls agreed that cheating was considered a bad thing while 20 percent thought it was not. The boy's responses were split with 50 percent thinking cheating was considered bad while 40 percent thought it not.

Major Hypothesis 8. Challenging Academics. Views concerning the difficulty of secondary school subjects were fairly balanced between boys and girls with the girls being slightly less positive that their "academic subjects were challenging." When the group of girls *who did not know* whether or not their academics were challenging is included with those who disagreed, the split between those females who thought their courses were challenging was 50-50.

Major Hypothesis 9. Career Preparation and Adequacy of Curriculum. Fully 80 percent of the girls thought they could make their own career choices in secondary school while only 70 percent of boys thought the same. When considering how well the curriculum worked to prepare these same respondents for their career, the 70 percent of boys thought it adequate while a much higher percentage of girls (90 percent) thought the curriculum adequate.

Major Hypothesis 10. Gender Bias. The 78 student respondents were very confident that girls were expected to meet the same academic standards as boys with 91 percent of 78 respondents thinking yes while only .05 percent thought no. 60 percent of girls thought themselves smarter and more mature than boys while 50 percent of boys thought girls smarter. It also appears that males are not reluctant to admit that girls can be smarter and more mature than they at the same age.

Major Hypothesis 11. Discipline. Boys and girls had almost identical assessments of the status of discipline in their schools. When asked to comment if it was rare that anyone broke the rules in their school, about 50 percent thought that it was rare for rule breaking to occur, while 50 percent thought it was not rare for

such behavior. But when asked about a specific kind of misbehavior, both groups were near unanimous, with 90 percent of each group thought fighting between students very rare in their schools.

Conclusions concerning the Faculty and Student Surveys

Major Hypothesis 1. Language in Bosnian education systems can be problematic. Faculty, remembering years past, were more positive that their teachers were not multilingual while students in school today were more unsure. The girls thought their teachers used dialects while boys thought they did not. There was a high degree of consistency between faculty and students in their perceptions of an absence of language problems. No one wrote about language as problematic either.

Major Hypothesis 2. Religion can influence the education system today. Very few students and even fewer faculty attended a religious school of any kind in their academic years. All respondents did not remember any religious subjects in their curriculum, even those who did attend a religious school. Again, this set of comments may have been written badly, generating responses clearly unrelated to each other.

Major Hypothesis 3. Parent Involvement. Faculty thought their parents more active in their school life than the students in the EHS today. There might be a tendency among the faculty to be reluctant to criticize their parents, especially given the nature of freedom of speech in the Balkans twenty, or more, years ago. Analyzing the ideas promulgated by the education newspapers of the 1950s and 1960s, the education of young people was viewed as a singularly important task of the state. This responsibility went even beyond the interests of parents. The state often viewed parents as unqualified to be activists in their children's school lives. Young people today may find the atmosphere a little more conducive to critical

comments concerning just about anything. It may be that the candor in the student's responses is partly due to the more open nature of Bosnian society today.

Major Hypothesis 4. Teacher Competence. Faculty was much more positive about their own teacher's competence than the students. Overall 93 percent of the faculty thought their teachers were competent while overall 73 percent of the students thought the same. If we account for simple human desire to remember the "... good old days" as "good" by the faculty, regardless of how their teachers *really* acted, combined with the also natural reluctance to speak badly about one's past to an American stranger, the 93 percent figure is understandable. Whether it is accurate is another issue. It is an interesting side note that in America conducting surveys and asking students such questions about teacher competence is apparently an almost impossible thing to do. Recognizing that, it is a testament to the bravery of the EHS and Dobrinja leadership that they allowed such a survey to take place in the school at all.

Major Hypothesis 5. Teacher-pupil relations. Both groups expressed a very high confidence level that their teachers expected interaction from them. The significant variance occurs in assessing whether or not it was important that they knew their teacher liked them. The faculty responded at the 73 percent level that such an affection was important to be known while only 50 percent of the students did so. It is unique here at this school that the *senior boys* were unanimous in their need to know their teacher liked them.

Major Hypothesis 6. Resources. Faculty was more positive (80 percent) about the quality of their texts than students (55 percent). Female students were a full 20 percent *less* positive than their teachers and male seniors were significantly more disappointed, showing a 40 percent less positive view than their teachers. The high level of dissatisfaction with materials expressed by the students was not expected in this "rich" school.

It could very well be that teachers in active teaching positions have a significant re-

luctance to criticize the very tools of their trade - even if the text might be outdated and/or irrelevant to the current socio-economic realities of the country. Certainly the students, regardless of sex, have no motive to praise texts that they know are irrelevant to the future work they seek. The largest single complaint from all groups was about the antiquated texts dealing with computers and information management.

Major Hypothesis 7. Cheating. The perceptions of cheating between faculty and students proved interesting. All faculty, regardless of age, thought cheating was considered a bad thing in their school. As with previous perceptions of this nature, it is difficult to deduce whether the faculty are making their assessment upon reflection of conditions in their own secondary school education or, (and maybe more likely) these comments emerge from how they now think conditions are in the school in which they teach. It is entirely logical that serving teachers would not admit that cheating was tolerated in their school, especially in their own classrooms. This would probably be so even though I have already had more than one student show me how they use their books to cheat during closed-book examinations so obviously that only a blind teacher would not know it was going on. The teacher's know cheating is pandemic in their system. The students were not as confident about how bad cheating was perceived. Half of the seniors answering the survey did not think it was considered a bad thing to cheat in this school. This is more consistent with the realities I have seen in education venues across all age groups educated in Bosnian schools.

Major Hypothesis 8. Challenging Academics. Faculty was far more negative about the demands of their academic curriculum than today's students. As opposed to teacher competency and cheating, it is very possible that the faculty have no reservations criticizing the curriculum of the previous system. Criticizing a neutral thing like curriculum is less risky than criticizing a person one might have to deal with later.

However, since these teachers are, today, on the cutting edge of the current of educational change common to all post-communist countries, it must be clear to them the difference between what they experienced and what they wish their students of today to experience. Only 40 percent of the faculty respondents thought the academics they experienced in their own secondary education were challenging. Today's students are not much more confident being at about the (overall) 50 percent level of satisfaction with their academics.

Major Hypothesis 9. Career Preparation and Adequacy of Curriculum. Faculty and students were in almost complete agreement on these two factors of their education system. All groups were in the 80 - 70 percent confidence range for how well their curriculum prepared them for a career they could choose.

Major Hypothesis 10. Gender Bias. Faculty and students have about the same perceptions (87+/90+) of whether or not girls are expected to meet the same academic standards as boys. This close correlation reveals a consistency between this school and the Dobrinja Gimnazija that had almost identical results. It

appears that today there does not seem to be a significant gender bias concerning the ability and expectations of girls by faculty (regardless of gender) and students.

Major Hypothesis 11. Discipline. This aspect of education, often called a part of the "hidden curriculum" also generated interesting responses between faculty and students. About 50 percent the students, regardless of age thought rule breaking by students was fairly normal behavior. Less than 20 percent of the faculty, again reflecting back many years, thought rule breaking was typical. When assessing how often fighting occurred, the students were significantly more positive that students behaved well, rarely getting physical with each other. Fully 90 percent of student respondents thought fighting a very rare thing. Only 67 percent of faculty however, when considering how often fighting might have occurred in their own school, thought it rare.

Summary Table. Figures 21, 22 and 23 that follow display the summary survey data for the EHS faculty and students.

Figure 21. EHS Faculty Survey Statistical Summary

	Percentiles				
	SA	A	NA	D	SD
2 I attended and have completed all years of a secondary school	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
3 My sec school stressed vocational subjects; carpentry, plumbing, auto mechanics	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.7
4 My secondary school stressed academic subjects such as math, writing, sciences	0.7	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
5 All my secondary schooling occurred in present day Bosnia	0.7	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.0
6 My parents took an active part in my secondary education	0.3	0.6	0.1	0.0	0.0
7 Teachers in my school(s) were competent	0.7	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
8 I am a (male) (female) and I attend a coed school	0.5	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.2
9 Homework was given by all teachers almost every night	0.3	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.1
10 The school planned and expected both boys and girls to play sports after school	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
11 My books were adequate for what I had to study	0.4	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.0
12 I did not care too much about world events in secondary school	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.2	0.5
13 We had a lot of field trips to interesting places	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.4
14 I can make my own career choice in secondary school	0.4	0.4	0.0	0.2	0.0
15 Cheating was considered a bad thing in my school	0.6	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0
16 Teachers were very good in my school	0.5	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.0
17 My teachers were multilingual	0.0	0.1	0.3	0.3	0.3
18 Teachers spoke to me in my dialect	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
19 Secondary school prepared me well for my chosen vocation	0.5	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.0
20 Girls were expected to meet the same academic standards as boys in any subject	0.7	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.0
21 My school provided a lunch meal without cost to everyone	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.7
22 Academic subjects were very hard and challenging	0.1	0.3	0.1	0.3	0.3
23 My teachers seemed well trained for educating me	0.5	0.3	0.0	0.1	0.1
24 Language difficulties never arose in my secondary school	0.5	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.0
25 My grades were always accurate portrayals of my work	0.4	0.3	0.0	0.2	0.1
26 Equipment we used for technical work; microscopes, slide rules, were adequate	0.1	0.4	0.2	0.1	0.1
27 Tools we used for voc work: saws, meters, diagnostic equipment were adequate	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.3
28 My vocational teacher worked in a foreign country where he learned most of his skills	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
29 My technical teacher worked in a foreign country where he studied his subject	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
30 My academic teacher(s) knew what they were talking about when they taught	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
31 I walked to school every day	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
32 Students were very disciplined and rarely did anyone disobey or break the rules.	0.3	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.1
33 I attended a religious school for at least part of my schooling (Christian or Muslim)	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.7
34 The most common form of teaching in any class was the lecture	0.5	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.0
35 My classrooms were bright, warm, and comfortable	0.7	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.0
36 We had lots of fights in the classrooms between students	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.5
37 We had the proper materials and books with which to properly study	0.3	0.4	0.1	0.2	0.1
38 My parents never seemed to care about what I did at school	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.3	0.5
39 The school day was split between two sections.	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
40 I rode a bus/tram to school every year throughout my secondary school	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.4
41 All my teachers expected interaction from me	0.6	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0
42 I knew of current events outside my country because teachers talked about them	0.5	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.0
43 What I learned in school seemed to make sense and was logical	0.4	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.0
44 I worked at a job after school	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
45 I moved at least once to a foreign country during my secondary schooling	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.7
46 My secondary schooling was entirely in a civilian (nonmilitary) environment	0.7	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0
47 Girls seemed to be smarter and more mature than boys in my secondary school	0.1	0.6	0.1	0.1	0.1
48 Religious instruction was an integral part of the school day for everyone in the school	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.8
49 It was important to me that I knew my teacher liked me	0.3	0.4	0.0	0.1	0.1

Figure 22. EHS Female Student Survey Statistical Summary

	Percentiles				
	SA	A	NA	D	SD
2 I attended and have completed all years of a secondary school	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
3 My sec school stressed vocational subjects; carpentry, plumbing, auto mechanics	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.3
4 My secondary school stressed academic subjects such as math, writing, sciences	0.5	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.0
5 All my secondary schooling occurred in present day Bosnia	0.8	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0
6 My parents took an active part in my secondary education	0.2	0.4	0.1	0.2	0.0
7 Teachers in my school(s) were competent	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.1	0.1
8 I am a (male) (female) and I attend a coed school	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.5
9 Homework was given by all teachers almost every night	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.7	0.1
10 The school planned and expected both boys and girls to play sports after school	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.5	0.2
11 My books were adequate for what I had to study	0.1	0.4	0.2	0.3	0.1
12 I did not care too much about world events in secondary school	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.4	0.3
13 We had a lot of field trips to interesting places	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.5	0.4
14 I can make my own career choice in secondary school	0.5	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.0
15 Cheating was considered a bad thing in my school	0.4	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.1
16 Teachers were very good in my school	0.3	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.0
17 My teachers were multilingual	0.0	0.2	0.4	0.2	0.2
18 Teachers spoke to me in my dialect	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.1	0.2
19 Secondary school prepared me well for my chosen vocation	0.5	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.0
20 Girls were expected to meet the same academic standards as boys in any subject	0.6	0.3	0.0	0.1	0.0
21 My school provided a lunch meal without cost to everyone	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.6
22 Academic subjects were very hard and challenging	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.1
23 My teachers seemed well trained for educating me	0.4	0.4	0.2	0.1	0.0
24 Language difficulties never arose in my secondary school	0.5	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.0
25 My grades were always accurate portrayals of my work	0.3	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.2
26 Equipment we used for technical work; microscopes, slide rules, were adequate	0.0	0.1	0.4	0.2	0.3
27 Tools we used for voc work: saws, meters, diagnostic equipment were adequate	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.1	0.4
28 My vocational teacher worked in a foreign country where he learned most of his skills	0.1	0.2	0.4	0.2	0.1
29 My technical teacher worked in a foreign country where he studied his subject	0.1	0.1	0.6	0.1	0.2
30 My academic teacher(s) knew what they were talking about when they taught	0.5	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.0
31 I walked to school every day	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.4	0.4
32 Students were very disciplined and rarely did anyone disobey or break the rules.	0.1	0.5	0.1	0.3	0.1
33 I attended a religious school for at least part of my schooling (Christian or Muslim)	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.4	0.4
34 The most common form of teaching in any class was the lecture	0.3	0.5	0.1	0.1	0.0
35 My classrooms were bright, warm, and comfortable	0.4	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.1
36 We had lots of fights in the classrooms between students	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.3	0.6
37 We had the proper materials and books with which to properly study	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.4	0.1
38 My parents never seemed to care about what I did at school	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.5
39 The school day was split between two sections.	0.7	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1
40 I rode a bus/tram to school every year throughout my secondary school	0.5	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.1
41 All my teachers expected interaction from me	0.3	0.5	0.1	0.0	0.0
42 I knew of current events outside my country because teachers talked about them	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.2
43 What I learned in school seemed to make sense and was logical	0.4	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.0
44 I worked at a job after school	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.4	0.4
45 I moved at least once to a foreign country during my secondary schooling	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.3	0.5
46 My secondary schooling was entirely in a civilian (nonmilitary) environment	0.6	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.1
47 Girls seemed to be smarter and more mature than boys in my secondary school	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1
48 Religious instruction was an integral part of the school day for everyone in the school	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.4	0.4
49 It was important to me that I knew my teacher liked me	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.1

Figure 23. EHS Male Student Survey Statistical Summary

	Percentiles				
	SA	A	NA	D	SD
2 I attended and have completed all years of a secondary school	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
3 My sec school stressed vocational subjects; carpentry, plumbing, auto mechanics	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.3	0.2
4 My secondary school stressed academic subjects such as math, writing, sciences	0.4	0.5	0.1	0.0	0.0
5 All my secondary schooling occurred in present day Bosnia	0.7	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0
6 My parents took an active part in my secondary education	0.2	0.4	0.0	0.3	0.1
7 Teachers in my school(s) were competent	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.0
8 I am a (male) (female) and I attend a coed school	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.5	0.3
9 Homework was given by all teachers almost every night	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.7	0.0
10 The school planned and expected both boys and girls to play sports after school	0.0	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.1
11 My books were adequate for what I had to study	0.1	0.5	0.1	0.2	0.0
12 I did not care too much about world events in secondary school	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.4	0.2
13 We had a lot of field trips to interesting places	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.5	0.4
14 I can make my own career choice in secondary school	0.3	0.4	0.2	0.1	0.0
15 Cheating was considered a bad thing in my school	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.3	0.1
16 Teachers were very good in my school	0.2	0.5	0.1	0.1	0.0
17 My teachers were multilingual	0.0	0.3	0.5	0.1	0.1
18 Teachers spoke to me in my dialect	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.1
19 Secondary school prepared me well for my chosen vocation	0.3	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.2
20 Girls were expected to meet the same academic standards as boys in any subject	0.5	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0
21 My school provided a lunch meal without cost to everyone	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.5
22 Academic subjects were very hard and challenging	0.2	0.4	0.1	0.2	0.1
23 My teachers seemed well trained for educating me	0.3	0.4	0.2	0.1	0.0
24 Language difficulties never arose in my secondary school	0.2	0.5	0.1	0.1	0.0
25 My grades were always accurate portrayals of my work	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1
26 Equipment we used for technical work; microscopes, slide rules, were adequate	0.0	0.1	0.5	0.1	0.3
27 Tools we used for voc work: saws, meters, diagnostic equipment were adequate	0.1	0.0	0.5	0.2	0.2
28 My vocational teacher worked in a foreign country where he learned most of his skill	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.1
29 My technical teacher worked in a foreign country where he studied his subject	0.0	0.2	0.4	0.2	0.1
30 My academic teacher(s) knew what they were talking about when they taught	0.5	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.1
31 I walked to school every day	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.5	0.3
32 Students were very disciplined and rarely did anyone disobey or break the rules.	0.1	0.4	0.1	0.3	0.1
33 I attended a religious school for at least part of my schooling (Christian or Muslim)	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.4	0.4
34 The most common form of teaching in any class was the lecture	0.3	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.1
35 My classrooms were bright, warm, and comfortable	0.4	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.1
36 We had lots of fights in the classrooms between students	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.4
37 We had the proper materials and books with which to properly study	0.1	0.3	0.1	0.3	0.1
38 My parents never seemed to care about what I did at school	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.4
39 The school day was split between two sections.	0.5	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.0
40 I rode a bus/tram to school every year throughout my secondary school	0.4	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.1
41 All my teachers expected interaction from me	0.4	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
42 I knew of current events outside my country because teachers talked about them	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.3
43 What I learned in school seemed to make sense and was logical	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.0	0.0
44 I worked at a job after school	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.4	0.3
45 I moved at least once to a foreign country during my secondary schooling	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.3	0.3
46 My secondary schooling was entirely in a civilian (nonmilitary) environment	0.5	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.1
47 Girls seemed to be smarter and more mature than boys in my secondary school	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.1
48 Religious instruction was an integral part of the school day for everyone in the school	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.4	0.5
49 It was important to me that I knew my teacher liked me	0.4	0.1	0.3	0.1	0.0

The Kajalingua English Language School

Introduction

This summary is modeled after the previous two. The surveys reviewed here were done over an 18-month period by 26 students attending a private, for-profit, English language, night school in Sarajevo called Kajalingua.

The School

This school name, Kajalingua, is a combination of the founder's initials, Jasmina Karahmet - KAJ (in the Bosniak/Croatian language initials are reversed -- last initial then middle, then first) and the Latin word for language - LINGUA. Jasmina built the school by herself, wading through the ponderous and encumbering bureaucracy of Sarajevo city managers to get it opened. That she was able to open such a school at all is a tribute to her perseverance and courage in the face of major obstacles. Her first school was in a high-rise bank building in the downtown city center. She moved the school to the Bistrik in 1999. The school has only two classrooms that house, in a very close and personal way, seven class levels of learning. Jasmina is the principal instructor for the first three levels of English language classes - introductory through conversational. During the survey work she employed an American, Mrs. Sharon McCreight, who taught the four upper level classes. There are about 100 people enrolled at any one time in the school, spread among the seven levels of learning.

The students at the Kajalingua School are not your average Bosnians. These students attend this language course on their own time to increase their skills in the English language. Some come with a single objective - to be able to get out of the Balkans. They are self-starters, taking on this additional, and difficult, educational burden for self-advancement. The level of instruction in which they participate is

not easy and requires a lot of work on their part - both in class and homework. Therefore their responses may, (and I stress the word *may* here) be tinged with a bit of a different perspective than their high school counterparts who are required by law to be in school.

A word about the sample size is required also. Women predominate in this school. Out of a total of 26 respondents only four are from male students. This ratio should be kept in mind when considering their responses.

Summary Analysis

In this survey group there are no faculty respondents. There were but two teachers; the Bosnian owner and an American. The responses are grouped, as in previous models, between male and female students.

Major Hypothesis 1. Language in Bosnian education systems can be problematic. None of the female respondents were positive about the multilingual skills of their teachers. All of them either did not know or disagreed that their teachers possessed any multilingual skills. When considering their teacher's use of dialect in their instruction, this group was split fairly evenly with about 50 percent remembering their own dialect being spoken by their teacher, the other half doubtful of that behavior. But the women were essentially unanimous (80+ percent) that there were not any language problems in their school lives. Of the males (only four) in this group, one said his teachers were multilingual, another said they were not, the other two did not know. But 75 percent (of this small sample) did remember their teacher speaking in their own dialect. This is the the *highest* positive recollection (as a percentage) about dialects of any group. This group had one respondent reply that there were language problems in his schooling, with two of the oth-

ers saying there were no such problems. One did not know.

Major Hypothesis 2. Religion can influence the education system today. About 20 percent of the women in this school attended a religious school of any kind in their academic years, but only 5 percent remembered any religious instruction in their curriculums. The one male who reported attending a religious school also replied that there was religion in his curriculum.

Major Hypothesis 3. Parental Involvement. About 80 percent of females and 80 percent of males either strongly agreed or agreed that their parents took an active part in their education. 20 percent of the females thought less of their parent's role in their education - the remaining 20 percent of the boys "did not know". Of the 22 female respondents only two, both 45 years old, did not experience that involvement. But of the 11 "seniors" in the population in this survey (the group in the age range from 35 to 50 years old), the remaining nine all had positive recollections - none of them "did not know."

Major Hypothesis 4. Teacher Competence. Over 80 percent of all respondents were positive about the competency of their teachers. Of the 26 who commented only four females, all in the junior group, "did not know" about the quality of their teachers. Approximately 95 percent of all respondents thought their teachers were "well-trained" for educating the students.

Major Hypothesis 5. Teacher-pupil relations. Both females and males in this group were very positive about their teacher's demands for interaction in the classroom (80 and 100 percent respectively). Considering whether or not it was important that the teachers loved them, 70 percent of the females and 100 percent of the males thought it was important for them to know their teacher loved them.

Major Hypothesis 6. Resources. Females and males were in agreement in their responses about the quality of their books. About 75 percent of the females and the males thought they were adequate. Neither group was impressed with the quality of their technical or

vocational instruments with a majority disfavoring them. The females were much more positive when considering all materials with 80 percent having a positive recollection of their quality. The boys were but at a 50 percent satisfaction level when considering all materials. Overall this group expressed a 53 percent satisfaction rate with their school resources.

Major Hypothesis 7. Cheating. Of the 26 respondents, 24 (90 percent) thought cheating was considered a bad thing in their school. This view ran across all age groups. The only two females saying that cheating was not considered a bad thing were 35 and 45 years old respectively. The four young men were unanimous in their view that cheating was considered a bad thing. While the majority of the respondents indicate this is what they believe, this is really not the case. Cheating is an accepted form of cooperation between the students and teachers. This cooperation extends to all venues of education but is primarily exhibited in testing events.

One young lady showed me how, during a test, the students would simply put their books on their lap, below the line of view from the front of the room where the teacher was during the test. The teacher never moved among the students during the exam. To assume the teacher had no idea such things were happening is extremely naive. Another student mentioned that she had no written exams - they were all administered orally. Therefore, (according to her) it was impossible to cheat. But what she did not say was that during such exams often it is normal for others to talk (called "whispering" in the Bosnian culture) about the answer. In my own particular experience with older students, it was quite common for students to blurt out answers to my questions even before the person questioned had time to formulate their answer. Even after telling them to wait until the person asked had a chance to develop an answer and try, the students would consistently blurt out answers, normally loudly too. This is another form of the same implicit cooperation among students. By acting out this way students who thought they knew the answer

were, besides acting out, also taking the pressure off the student who did not answer quickly.

Major Hypothesis 8. Challenging Academics. The senior respondents to this comment were almost unanimous that their academics were not challenging - which may be a strong contributing factor as to why they were in this night school. Of the 11 possible respondents in the 35-50 year-old age set, only one thought her academics were challenging. The youthful were evenly split with two saying yes and two saying no. This is generally consistent with the perceptions of faculty and student respondents in the public schools.

Major Hypothesis 9. Career preparation and adequacy of curriculum. Career choices seem more difficult for the boys with three of four responding that they cannot make their own choice. The females are more balanced with 11 of 22 having a very positive view of the chances to select their own career.

When commenting about the adequacy of the curriculum to prepare them for their career, the boys remained skeptical with two replying they "did not know". But whether they did not know because they were so young (i.e. it's way too early for such thoughts) or because they had thought about it quite a lot and still did not know what their career would be is not clear. Six older females were not reluctant to say their high school did not prepare them well for their vocation. These women would be among the last of a generation educated under the communist system.

Major Hypothesis 10. Gender Bias. Two comments in the survey addressed perceived gender bias. The first said that girls were expected to meet the same academic standards as boys. The second said that girls were smarter than boys in the respondent's high school. Both genders were absolutely positive (90 percent for females and 100 percent for boys) that girls had to meet the same academic standards as boys. Only one woman, 35 years old, stated girls (she?) did not have to meet the same standards. She must have had a unique experience in her educational life. Half of the 22 females responded that they were not any

smarter or mature than boys. An almost even distribution of responses between those believing there is no difference between the intellectual and maturity levels of boys and girls, and those that do suggests there is probably no significant gender bias by either group.

Major Hypothesis 11. Discipline. Both groups responded very similarly to the comments about discipline in their schools. When considering obeying rules, 75 percent of the total group thought their schoolmates obedient. As a group about 85 percent thought fighting between students a rare thing in their school experience - females reporting slightly higher confidence in this atmosphere than males - 90 to 80 percent respectively. Overall the respondents, as a group, had a 80 percent confidence level that students behave in school.

Conclusions Concerning the Surveys.

Major Hypothesis 1. Language in Bosnian education systems can be problematic. This group was consistent with their counterparts in public schools. They generally had no firm idea about the multilingual skills of their teachers, had a fairly balanced view of the use of dialects but were nearly unanimous that language was not a problem in their schooling.

Major Hypothesis 2. Religion can influence the education system today. Attendance at religious schools and the presence of religious subjects in curriculum were not evident in the educational experiences of this group.

Major Hypothesis 3. Parent Involvement. This group is consistent in their views of parental involvement. The majority find their parents active in their school life. Compared to the public high school respondents, this group was over 10-20 percent higher on the agreement scale than their HS student counterparts. This may be attributable to the encouragement of parents for the younger respondents to get into this private school. Even those respondents that have long passed the time of significant parental

influence in their lives, probably also were encouraged to go beyond the norm in their public school years - which may also be why they are in the course.

Major Hypothesis 4. Teacher Competence. This group has a very high opinion of their teachers. Their responses were a full 20 percent more positive than those of their public HS counterparts at the Dobrinja Gimnazija.

Major Hypothesis 5. Teacher-pupil Relations. The Kajalingua respondents were generally consistent with their more senior counterparts (faculty) of the two public schools in their positive perceptions of teacher-pupil relations.

Major Hypothesis 6. Resources. This group was a full 10 points higher in their opinion of their schoolbooks and learning materials than their HS counterparts.

Major Hypothesis 7. Cheating. This group thought cheating was a bad thing in school. The students here were 15-30 percent more positive than both their HS counterparts and faculty members that cheating was a bad thing.

Major Hypothesis 8. Challenging Academics. The senior respondents from Kajalingua were consistent with their senior faculty counterparts at the EHS finding their academics not challenging (47 and 53 percent dissatisfaction rates respectively). However, they were not so severe as the Dobrinja faculty where *not one* faculty member in the 35-50 year-old group thought their academics challenging.

Major Hypothesis 9. Career preparation and adequacy of curriculum. All the young people in this group are not convinced they can make their own career decisions. This group had the largest percentage of dissatisfied re-

spondents at 40 percent. This would not seem to be the normal response in this age of transition where the limits imposed by a centrally planned economy that directed students into subjects and work not of their choosing have been lifted. It could be that the high level of parent participation in their academic lives exerts some overt influence on the younger student's range of choices for a career. The young people (15-25 years) in Kajalingua and the two high schools are within 2-3 percentage points of each other. This might mean that the forces of career choice and curriculum might be fairly consistent for both groups.²⁴³

Major Hypothesis 10. Gender bias. The Kajalingua group is more confident than their counterparts that there is no inherent bias against girls being able to meet the same academic standards as boys. This group is about five points higher on the positive scale as their HS counterparts. Perceptions of how smart and mature girls are differ between the two groups. The Kajalingua group has only 27 percent agreeing that girls are smarter and more mature while 67 percent their friends in the HS group think they are. This 50 percent differential is the most significant differential of any factor in the analysis.

Major Hypothesis 11. Discipline. This group responded very similarly to their fellow citizens in the two public schools (except for DG students) that discipline is not a problem in their academic lives.

The summary tables for the Kajalingua School are shown at Figures 24 and 25 respectively.

Figure 24. Kajalingua Female Student Survey Statistical Summary

	Percentiles				
	SA	A	NA	D	SD
2 I attended and have completed all years of a secondary school	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2
3 My sec school stressed vocational subjects; carpentry, plumbing, auto mechanics	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.5
4 My secondary school stressed academic subjects such as math, writing, sciences	0.6	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.0
5 All my secondary schooling occurred in present day Bosnia	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
6 My parents took an active part in my secondary education	0.6	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.0
7 Teachers in my school(s) were competent	0.5	0.3	0.2	0.0	0.0
8 I am a (male) (female) and I attend a coed school	0.6	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1
9 Homework was given by all teachers almost every night	0.2	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.1
10 The school planned and expected both boys and girls to play sports after school	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.4	0.3
11 My books were adequate for what I had to study	0.3	0.5	0.1	0.0	0.0
12 I did not care too much about world events in secondary school	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.5	0.3
13 We had a lot of field trips to interesting places	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.4	0.3
14 I can make my own career choice in secondary school	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.3
15 Cheating was considered a bad thing in my school	0.6	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.0
16 Teachers were very good in my school	0.2	0.5	0.1	0.1	0.0
17 My teachers were multilingual	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.4	0.2
18 Teachers spoke to me in my dialect	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1
19 Secondary school prepared me well for my chosen vocation	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.1
20 Girls were expected to meet the same academic standards as boys in any subject	0.6	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
21 My school provided a lunch meal without cost to everyone	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.7
22 Academic subjects were very hard and challenging	0.0	0.1	0.4	0.3	0.1
23 My teachers seemed well trained for educating me	0.3	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0
24 Language difficulties never arose in my secondary school	0.5	0.3	0.0	0.1	0.0
25 My grades were always accurate portrayals of my work	0.4	0.4	0.0	0.1	0.1
26 Equipment we used for technical work; microscopes, slide rules, were adequate	0.1	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.2
27 Tools we used for voc work: saws, meters, diagnostic equipment were adequate	0.1	0.0	0.6	0.2	0.1
28 My vocational teacher worked in a foreign country where he learned most of his skills	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.2	0.5
29 My technical teacher worked in a foreign country where he studied his subject	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.2	0.4
30 My academic teacher(s) knew what they were talking about when they taught	0.5	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.0
31 I walked to school every day	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.4
32 Students were very disciplined and rarely did anyone disobey or break the rules.	0.2	0.5	0.0	0.3	0.0
33 I attended a religious school for at least part of my schooling (Christian or Muslim)	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.5
34 The most common form of teaching in any class was the lecture	0.5	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.0
35 My classrooms were bright, warm, and comfortable	0.5	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.1
36 We had lots of fights in the classrooms between students	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.6
37 We had the proper materials and books with which to properly study	0.4	0.5	0.1	0.0	0.1
38 My parents never seemed to care about what I did at school	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.6
39 The school day was split between two sections.	0.6	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.1
40 I rode a bus/tram to school every year throughout my secondary school	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1
41 All my teachers expected interaction from me	0.5	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.0
42 I knew of current events outside my country because teachers talked about them	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.4	0.2
43 What I learned in school seemed to make sense and was logical	0.3	0.5	0.0	0.1	0.0
44 I worked at a job after school	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.7
45 I moved at least once to a foreign country during my secondary schooling	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.7
46 My secondary schooling was entirely in a civilian (nonmilitary) environment	0.6	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.0
47 Girls seemed to be smarter and more mature than boys in my secondary school	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.2
48 Religious instruction was an integral part of the school day for everyone in the school	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.9
49 It was important to me that I knew my teacher liked me	0.2	0.5	0.1	0.1	0.0

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Figure 25. Kajalingua Male Student Survey Statistical Summary

	Percentiles				
	SA	A	NA	D	SD
2 I attended and have completed all years of a secondary school	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.3
3 My sec school stressed vocational subjects; carpentry, plumbing, auto mechanics	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.8
4 My secondary school stressed academic subjects such as math, writing, sciences	0.8	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
5 All my secondary schooling occurred in present day Bosnia	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5
6 My parents took an active part in my secondary education	0.5	0.3	0.3	0.0	0.0
7 Teachers in my school(s) were competent	0.8	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
8 I am a (male) (female) and I attend a coed school	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
9 Homework was given by all teachers almost every night	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.3	0.3
10 The school planned and expected both boys and girls to play sports after school	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.5	0.3
11 My books were adequate for what I had to study	0.3	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.3
12 I did not care too much about world events in secondary school	0.0	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3
13 We had a lot of field trips to interesting places	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.5	0.3
14 I can make my own career choice in secondary school	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.5
15 Cheating was considered a bad thing in my school	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
16 Teachers were very good in my school	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.3	0.3
17 My teachers were multilingual	0.3	0.0	0.5	0.3	0.0
18 Teachers spoke to me in my dialect	0.5	0.3	0.0	0.3	0.0
19 Secondary school prepared me well for my chosen vocation	0.3	0.3	0.5	0.0	0.0
20 Girls were expected to meet the same academic standards as boys in any subject	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
21 My school provided a lunch meal without cost to everyone	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.5
22 Academic subjects were very hard and challenging	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0
23 My teachers seemed well trained for educating me	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
24 Language difficulties never arose in my secondary school	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.0
25 My grades were always accurate portrayals of my work	0.3	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.3
26 Equipment we used for technical work; microscopes, slide rules, were adequate	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.3	0.3
27 Tools we used for voc work: saws, meters, diagnostic equipment were adequate	0.0	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3
28 My vocational teacher worked in a foreign country where he learned most of his skill	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.3	0.3
29 My technical teacher worked in a foreign country where he studied his subject	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.3	0.0
30 My academic teacher(s) knew what they were talking about when they taught	0.8	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
31 I walked to school every day	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3
32 Students were very disciplined and rarely did anyone disobey or break the rules.	0.3	0.5	0.0	0.3	0.0
33 I attended a religious school for at least part of my schooling (Christian or Muslim)	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.3	0.5
34 The most common form of teaching in any class was the lecture	0.8	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
35 My classrooms were bright, warm, and comfortable	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.3
36 We had lots of fights in the classrooms between students	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.5
37 We had the proper materials and books with which to properly study	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.3	0.3
38 My parents never seemed to care about what I did at school	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.8
39 The school day was split between two sections.	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3
40 I rode a bus/tram to school every year throughout my secondary school	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.5
41 All my teachers expected interaction from me	0.8	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
42 I knew of current events outside my country because teachers talked about them	0.3	0.3	0.0	0.3	0.3
43 What I learned in school seemed to make sense and was logical	0.5	0.3	0.3	0.0	0.0
44 I worked at a job after school	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.8
45 I moved at least once to a foreign country during my secondary schooling	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.3
46 My secondary schooling was entirely in a civilian (nonmilitary) environment	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.3
47 Girls seemed to be smarter and more mature than boys in my secondary school	0.0	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3
48 Religious instruction was an integral part of the school day for everyone in the school	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.3	0.5
49 It was important to me that I knew my teacher liked me	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0

Conclusions, Summary, and Recommendations for Further Research

Conclusions Concerning the Major Hypothesis²⁴

This initial section...

- restates the hypothesis based upon previously discussed survey findings
- compares the survey data
- discusses the conclusion reached about the hypothesis.

Major Hypothesis 1. Language does not appear to be problematic in Sarajevo.

Statistical results for Major Hypothesis 1. Language

	Not a Problem	Did not Know	Problem
DG Faculty	80%	20%	0%
DG Students	80%	10%	10%
EHS Faculty	80%	10%	10%
EHS Students	80%	10%	10%
Kajalingua Students	70%	10%	20%

Even though there have been language difficulties during the development of education in Bosnia, it does not appear that these difficulties were problematic during the school years of the surveyed population in Sarajevo. Perhaps respondents in these schools (except probably Kajalingua) were from the same ethno-linguistic group resulting in a minimum of dialectical conflict from the start. The revised hypothesis *does* support anecdotal input from Sarajevo city dwellers who said that, prior to the civil war, there was significant harmony between ethno-linguistic factions in the city. Only upon post-

war immigration of outsiders into the city has the issue of language become problematic. But language does not appear to be a problem *within* schools in Bosnia. There *are* significant language challenges between ethno-linguistic groups in Bosnia *outside* schools.

Major Hypothesis 2. Religion appears to have had no significant influence on the public education system in Sarajevo.

Statistical results for Major Hypothesis 2. Religions Influence

	Religion in student's academic life	NA/ Did not Know	No religious experience
DG Faculty	10%	20%	70%
DG Students	10%	10%	80%
EHS Faculty	.05%	.05%	90%
EHS Students	10%	0%	90%
Kajalingua Students	15%	0%	85%

After language the influence of clerics on the development of education systems in Bosnia has been significant. The data reveals that there does not seem to have been many students attending public schools who also had an association with a religious school in their academic lives. It seemed plausible that after the relaxing of restrictions on confessional school systems in the late 1950s, that at least some of the respondents would have attended a Muslim or Christian school sometime in their academic lives. But it is apparently not so. The majority of respondents also do not remember religion (as a subject of the curriculum) ever having been a part current secular educa-

tion programs. This is a logical conclusion if the respondents had not attended a religious school in their lives and the public schools they did attend were run by atheistic bureaucrats with a policy of denying the existence of God and religion as a subject in the curriculums.

Major Hypothesis 3. Parents are involved in their student's education. It appears that parental involvement was, and remains significant in Bosnian education. It also does *not* appear that the influence of the state was, or is, problematic in parental involvement in a Bosnian student's education.

Statistical results for Major Hypothesis 3. Parental Involvement

	Thought Involved	Did not Know	Not Involved
DG Faculty	80%	-	20%
DG Students	70%	1%	28%
EHS Faculty	90%	-	10%
EHS Students	60%	20%	20%
Kajalingua Students	80%	20%	0%

Faculty, reflecting upon their own educational and familial experiences, has a much higher confidence level that their parents cared about their schoolwork than do teenage students today. But the greatest variance in perceptions was between the faculty and students of Dobrinja and Economics High Schools. While 80 percent of faculty at the Dobrinja Gimnazija thought their parents involved, only 70 percent of students thought the same. This is but a difference of 10 points. At the Economics High School the variance was much wider. Fully 90 percent of faculty thought their parents were involved in their education but only 60 percent of students thought the same. This is a variance of 30 points.

There was one easily identifiable difference between the two schools. Although much poorer in appearance, the Dobrinja Gimnazija

was situated directly in the housing complexes in which the students resided. Therefore it was possible for parents to very easily get involved in their children's academic lives. The Economics High School, although much richer, was in the city center and was not very close to the apartments of the student's parents. It is very possible that proximity plays a vital part in parent involvement in student's academic life. The students at the Kajalingua School had the highest confidence in parent involvement at near 80 percent. This can probably be attributed to the encouragement of the younger student's parents to get involved in night school at the expense of other aspects of their young lives. The older students (of parenting age) obviously had a high level of self-motivation but maybe also some parental support too. But here the affect of proximity cannot hold. The Kajalingua students come from all over Sarajevo and the suburbs - some from *very far* away. Overall the conclusion is that parental involvement is fairly high in Bosnia since a majority of all age and sex respondents reported their parent's involved in their academic lives.

Major Hypothesis 4. Teachers in Sarajevo are thought competent. It appears that teachers are competent in their work in Bosnia. However, public school students today are less confident about their teacher's competence than the student's parents (faculty).

Statistical results for Major Hypothesis 4. Teacher Competence

	Thought Competent	Did not Know	Not Competent
DG Faculty	80%	<1%	<20%
DG Students	55-60%	20%	30%
EHS Faculty	90%	<1%	<10%
EHS Students	73%	17%	10%
Kajalingua Students	82%	10%	<8%

As with parental involvement, faculty of both schools were more positive about their

own teacher's competence than the students at their own schools were about these same teacher's abilities. The Dobrinja staff reflected 10 points less confidence than the Economics High School (80 to 90). The Kajalingua students had an 82 percent confidence factor in their teacher's competence. Students in the public high schools were less optimistic - especially as they grew older. In Dobrinja Gimnazija, as the survey population grew older, their perceptions of teacher competence fell rapidly - this did not happen at nearly the same rate in the Economics High School.

As the teenagers of the Dobrinja Gimnazija matured, they became less enamored with the Spartan, cramped, and shabby conditions they had to endure - while the relative quality of the teachers was probably about the same as in the Economics High School. The students at the Economics High School had no such distracting influence. It is possible that the teachers at Dobrinja became the target of the teenager's frustration, since the teenagers could vent their frustration against them (being people) and they could not do so against their surroundings (being inanimate). Overall, the faculty and students think their teachers are competent.

Major Hypothesis 5. Teacher-pupil relations seem strong in Bosnia. It appears that the system in Bosnia creates opportunity for positive teacher-pupil relations.

Statistical results for Major Hypothesis 5. Teacher-pupil Relations

	Positive	Did not Know	Not Positive
DG Faculty	80%	<1%	<20%
DG Students	60%	10%	30%
EHS Faculty	86%	0%	<14%
EHS Students	68%	18%	14%
Kajalingua Students	82%	10%	<8%

Generally faculty perceptions of teacher-student interaction were consistent. The faculty of both schools were in the 80 percent range of positive recollection. The students were in the 60 percent positive range with the Dobrinja students a little more negative than their EHS counterparts. It is possible that the students at Dobrinja take out some of their frustration with the state of their physical plant on their teachers. The Kajalingua students had the least negative perceptions of their teacher's interactive skills.

Faculty perceptions of how important it was that they knew their own teachers liked them were not consistent. The Dobrinja faculty (65 percent negative recollection) were almost inversely proportional to their Economics High School counterparts (73 percent positive recollection) in this perception. Why this inverse relationship exists is not clear. A minority of students at both schools were consistent (45/50 percent respectively) in believing it important. If we discount the Economics High School faculty responses, then it is fairly clear that it was not significantly important for the respondent population that they knew their teachers liked them. This is not consistent with other research findings that said that such a perception was, in fact, a significant thing for the students of Bosnia (and ex-Yugoslavia). But, overall, there appears to exist a generally positive atmosphere in teacher-pupil relationship in the Bosnian system.

Major Hypothesis 6. Resources do not appear to effect perceptions of an effective education system.

Statistical results for Major Hypothesis 6. Resources

	Thought Good	Did not Know	Not Good
DG Faculty	68%	12%	20%
DG Students	22%	13%	65%
EHS Faculty	60%	8%	28%
EHS Students	39%	26%	35%
Kajalingua Students	53%	17%	32%

Dobrinja Gimnazija students, resource "poor", were only 18 points more dissatisfied with their resources than were the students at the "rich" EHS. The students in the very poor school quite naturally were much more condemnatory of their school's infrastructure than the students in the rich school. But it remains very surprising that over one third of the EHS students thought their resources inadequate. The large number of students in the EHS who did not know the nature of their school resources is also puzzling. Perhaps money does not make things that much better.

However the responses from the faculty versus the students are very logical when it comes to assessments of resources. Faculty, who went to school before the civil war, went to schools with a fair degree of classroom suitability and resources. Their general satisfaction is revealed by a combined rate of over 60 percent.

The responses from the more senior group of "students" at Kajalingua, compared to the other two schools, is very interesting. Their counterparts in age are the faculty at the two public schools. The Kajalingua students have the lowest level of satisfaction with the school resources they had in their school days. These

respondents did not identify the schools they attended. It is possible that they were then more willing to be critical of their resources than their counterparts in the system.

Major Hypothesis 7. Cheating is a problem in the education system.

Statistical results for Major Hypothesis 7. Cheating

	Thought Bad	Did not Know	Not Bad
DG Faculty	60%	20%	20%
DG Students	75%	10%	15%
EHS Faculty	100%	-	-
EHS Students	60%	10%	30%
Kajalingua Students	91%	4%	5%

The faculty of the respondent schools know that cheating is a part of the way it is in Bosnian schools. The faculty did not respond in the survey in a way that acknowledges that cheating is a significant problem in their system. Quite naturally some self-defense and honor issues may prevent them from responding in a more accurate manner.

I have been among all ages of students, either in, or graduates of, the school systems of Bosnia, and they all cheat. And age doesn't matter. Older students, who (we think) should know better, are as likely to "whisper" (talking among themselves asking for answers) or openly (and without apparent concern) look onto other student's papers for answers. The inconsistency is demonstrated clearly when the college graduate respondents said cheating was a form of cooperation among the students at the university level but was considered a bad thing at the secondary level.

The DG faculty (and the juniors/seniors in that school) were fairly realistic about cheating in their school years. However, the most realistic responses came from the younger stu-

dents at EHS where 30 percent perceived cheating a bad thing.

The significance of these conclusions is that a high level of tolerance of cheating in the school leadership (regardless of level) will lead, logically, to an acceptance of such behavior in the students who will then carry this view out into the work world. If the country is to progress out of the limitations to sustained growth imposed by the previous system, cheating must be addressed as a systemic problem in the school system.

Major Hypothesis 8. Academics appear to be *non-challenging* in the Bosnian system. It appears there is just a *lot* of academics that are not necessarily also difficult to master.

**Statistical results for Major Hypothesis 8.
Challenging Academics**

	Thought Chal- lenging	Did not Know	Not Chal- lenging
DG Faculty	-	20%	80%
DG Students	45%	35%	20%
EHS Faculty	40%	7%	53%
EHS Students	55%	15%	35%
Kajalingua Students	34%	19%	47%

Of all the aspects of the education system in ex-Yugoslavia the responses to this issue were surprising. It is quite possible that there is a universal perception among westerners that the education systems of communist countries were very demanding requiring significant effort from the students throughout their academic life. The respondents, especially the elder ones, say that academics were, and remain today, not challenging.

When the faculty of the two public schools who were not satisfied with their academic quality are combined with those from

Kajalingua, the aggregate dissatisfaction level is 60 percent. This is a *substantial* majority.

Since the primary purpose of secondary education in the faculty member's high school years was to generate party-compliant and trustworthy bureaucrats it may be entirely reasonable that the curriculum was not difficult - only lengthy. There was a *lot* of it but not much quality. It does not take much effort to educate bureaucrats to do simple paper-shuffling tasks.

However, about half of the two "younger" student groups in DG and EHS today, do think their academics a challenge. Maybe the pedagogues in the first/older group have made efforts to correct the lack of academic rigor they saw in their academic years and are ensuring their own charges receive a demanding academic experience.

Major Hypothesis 9. The efficiency of the education system in preparing Bosnian students for their careers is doubtful.

Statistical results for Major Hypothesis 9. Career Preparation

	Thought Good	Did not Know	Not Good
DG Faculty	70%	10%	20%
DG Students	50%	20%	30%
EHS Faculty	80%	-	20%
EHS Students	73%	15%	12%
Kajalingua Students	38%	20%	40%

The efficiency of the system to prepare students, especially today's students, for their careers is in doubt. Faculty were overall more confident than students. The students at Kajalingua were by far *the least* impressed with their schools preparation methods. They obviously want(ed) more and they are/were not getting it.

After the perceptions about their academics, the responses concerning how well the system allowed for career choice were next

most remarkable. The majority of older respondents (in all three school groups) concluded they could make their own career choices. This is absolutely contrary to what would be expected in a centrally managed economy (unless all the respondents were devout communists) where students (who made it to secondary school) were placed into education tracks that ostensibly matched the needs of the centrally managed economy and associated federal systems - defense, state-run services, etc..

It is a positive thing that some (but not a majority) of the younger students also feel they can make their career choices in this fledgling democracy. The central dilemma for the young people, with some vision of becoming something in their lives, is that they harbor deep suspicion that they either will not find the jobs they want or will be denied opportunity to compete for the few with potential that exist in their country. Most seek escape to a land with opportunity; Canada, America, Australia, or New Zealand.

Major Hypothesis 10. Gender Bias. There does not appear to be a significant gender bias in the education system.

Statistical results for Major Hypothesis 10.

Gender Bias

	Thought Did Not Exist	Did not Know	Thought Did Exist
DG Faculty	80%	-	20%
DG Students	85%	10%	10%
EHS Faculty	87%	10%	13%
EHS Students	91%	8%	<1%
Kajalingua Students	95%	-	5%

For a country, that only until about 40 years ago segregated their girls from boys in school, there is apparently little gender bias among, or seen by, the respondents. The reason

schools were, until relatively recently, segregated was a combination of holdover from the strict rules of sexual separation in the Ottoman period and strong perceptions of the futility of female education common in rural, remote, predominantly agricultural cultures. The large majority of all groups, regardless of gender, age and status, thought girls were expected to meet the same academic standards as boys - which is a positive stimulus to an efficient system and continued progress for the nation.

Major Hypothesis 11. Discipline. The education system seems to maintain a disciplined environment.

Statistical results for Major Hypothesis 11.

Discipline

	Discipline Present	Did not Know	Discipline Not Present
DG Faculty	80%	-	20%
DG Students	25%	10%	65%
EHS Faculty	70%	10%	20%
EHS Students	55%	-	45%
Kajalingua Students	80%	-	20%

The school faculty and students from Kajalingua were uniformly at about the 77 percent confidence rate that discipline was not a problem. Students responses were inconsistent. The DG students responded at a *significantly* lower confidence rate (only 25 percent) that discipline was not a problem. The EHS students had slightly more than half report the same. It is surprising that fully 45 percent of EHS respondents found discipline to be a problem in their "rich" school. The fact that there was only a 10 percent difference between those thinking discipline a problem and those thinking it not might lead to a qualified conclusion that "rich" kids get into about as much trouble as "poor" kids - at DG for example.

All respondent groups were consistent in one perception. Fighting among students appears to be a very rare event, regardless of the decades remembered.

Summary

Overall the following summary can be made. The surveys sought to prove or deny several major hypothesis concerning the effectiveness of the secondary education system of Bosnia, seen from the perspective of older Bosnians reflecting back several decades to their own experiences, and also the current generation of students attending that system today. Like all assessments of social dynamics, the following summary makes statements that are certainly qualified ones given the extraordinary complex nature of human interaction. There are also significant hazards doing any sort of analysis produced in another language.

Language and religion, with significant effect in previous evolutions of educational development, appear to have reduced influence *inside* schools of modern Bosnian education.

Parents are actively involved in their children's education, expressing fair confidence in the competence of their teachers and having a positive view of the teacher's ability to generate supportive teacher-pupil relations. The state's ability to overcome parental influence seems to have been minimal.

Perceptions of resource adequacy by faculty (pre-civil war students) are consistently higher than all student groups (civil war students). The students, from the rich and poor public high schools (when combining those that "did not know" about the quality of their resources and those that knew the resources were

not good), were *essentially equal* in their perceptions of resource quality. This might mean that it doesn't matter how much money is spent when it comes to student perceptions of how much is enough (or good).

The faculty and students are deluding themselves about cheating. They know it is bad, but tolerate it. It is pandemic. The education leadership of Bosnia must address this issue in order to both improve the effectiveness of their entire system and send honest people into the work force.

The education leadership needs to address the nature of their academics. Only half of the 244 respondents concluded that their academics were challenging. The other half either did not know or thought them not challenging. The current efforts to adjust the curriculum (especially electives) will make steps in the right direction. If combined with serious work in improving the pedagogical skills of current and future teachers, the results should be positive.

The Bosnian education system seems to have strength in controlling gender bias and discipline. For a country only about 40 years out from gender segregated schools this is admirable.

The summary of the 11 major hypotheses then reveals a generally effective education system with adjustments required in the specific areas of curriculum relevance, academic toughness, and improved pedagogical skills.

Given the historical forces and the current political atmosphere in the region, decentralized control and execution of education systems are the preferred methods of control - at least until a better ethno-linguistic harmony settles in. I will make three recommendations that might ameliorate these tensions in the next chapter titled "The Future".

Chapter 7

The Future

But the return of young, educated military age non-Serbs to urban areas (in Bosnia) has thus far proven non-negotiable. During the war the Serbs carried out their most vicious ethnic cleansing in the cities and towns, against not only the other ethnic groups, but against one particular class: the urban elite. This included the eastern Republika Srpska (RS) urban cities of Zvornik, Foca, Visegrad, Rogatica, Bijeljina, and Srebrenica. Only mere handfuls of people have successfully returned to these towns. As during the war, these urban elite are still considered the most 'dangerous' Bosniaks, as they have the *intellectual wherewithal* to be able to organize their people politically. As pointed out in one recent interim evaluation of the Return and Reconstruction Task Force, in RS there remains a vast gap between politically acceptable Bosniaks return to destroyed villages, and politically unacceptable Bosniak returnees to urban areas.²⁴⁵

The future is not bright for Bosnians with *intellectual wherewithal* - at least in the RS. The future may be a little brighter in the Federation. But the Federation cannot escape the historical reality that since the 10th century those in power in Bosnia have used education for a singular purpose - maintaining their own power base and denying opportunity to anyone they disfavor. As long as the peasants remained true to their station and never sought to rise above it, the powerful were happy. It was always those pesky city-dwellers, normally with a cleric very close to, if not the instigator of, the action, who thought they could get organized and upset the precarious balance of power.

Whether Ottoman fief holder, Austrian military occupier, Communist apparatchik, or Serbian irredentist, all have used education to advance the loyal and retard the upstart. Education was a method to: limit, not enable; dominate, not liberate; indoctrinate, not enlighten; restrict, not free.

Given about a thousand years of this non-progressive behavior, what does the future hold for education in Bosnia? Some hope and a share of difficulties. What things can be done to assist in the march of educational progress which will best enable the youth of Bosnia to seek opportunity, open previously exclusive doors locked shut by the forces of intransigence and bullying, and provide some hope for the nation to progress in the face of the cultural impediments mounted against it in the past thousand years? A few things might help. This chapter will focus on only three topics (of the potentially many) to answer this question. These three topics center on, hopefully not surprisingly, language, religion, and control of schools. The central theme that runs through all three of these topics is open communication.

I stress the words 'open communication', because future progress in education in Bosnia is hinged on the ability to communicate freely, without fear of reprisal or danger. Two significant obstacles to open communication have been, for the last ten centuries, language and religion. Both have sealed off and encased people in their enclaves and limited, rather than expanded, the boundaries of knowledge and learning.

Language

Today, language remains an emotional and political issue with everyone in the Balkans, let alone Bosnia. But not *inside* secular public schools. A Bosnian mother of three pre-school children told me that she was not the least bit interested in the latest reform measures being recommended (or imposed?) by the education organ of the Office of the High Representative or the Canton Ministry of Education. All she wanted to know was what the primary language of instruction would be in the schools that her children would soon attend. If it was not "her" language, she would move to a place where her children would be taught only in "her" language. It didn't matter that the four languages of ex-Yugoslavia were, and remain, so very close to each other in lexicon and grammar as to enable travelers from each republic of the previous federation to travel across their various regions and communicate - when they felt like it. This capability to communicate across dialects was maintained, in part, because the school system required all students to learn two alphabets - the Latin alphabet of the Croatian and Slovenian dialect and the Cyrillic alphabet of the Serbian dialect. But that didn't matter to the mother, only ethno-linguistic purity mattered.

It was also of absolutely no importance to her if the teachers would be competent, the curriculum current with the latest information technology systems in place, or even if the school had a history department which clung to the "right" version of who attacked whom in the late civil war. The only issue to be resolved, for her, was that of the language and alphabet of instruction. And her attitude is the norm, not the exception.

Today, in the Croatian sectors of BiH, the Croatian dialect and Latin letters are taught in school. In the Bosniak sectors, Bosniak is spoken and Latin letters used to write. In the RS, Serbian is spoken and Cyrillic letters are used in writing. In BiH schools today a Croatian student attending a school in the Bosniak sector can go through four years of language

education and receive a diploma that states the student learned Croatian in those four years - when nothing of the sort actually happened²⁴⁶. And a Bosniak student in the Croatian sector can get a diploma citing proficiency in Bosniak when the language taught for the entire four years was Croatian. I do not know what happens in the RS, but I can be fairly positive that the language of education is Serbian and no attention is paid to the ethno-linguistic preference of the student - especially if they prefer the Croatian or Bosniak dialects. So, for the near future, a nation no larger than Oregon will have three distinct languages spoken by the people. And the initial interaction between the people of these three ethno-linguistic groups will *always* begin with judgements about the other person, based on the dialect they speak (and their name) and *not* the inherent worth of their proposal or message.

Religion

The second obstacle to open communication has been and remains religion, which *cannot* be separated from language. But religion is not problematic *within* the secular public schools of Bosnia. In the Balkans, Serbs are most likely an Orthodox Christian (either the Greek or Russian variety), Croats are likely Roman Catholic, and Bosniaks undoubtedly Muslim. There are certainly some exceptions to these categories but not so many as to make the rule untrue. It was along these three denominational lines that education first began in the Balkans.

The friars accompanying Charlemagne's campaign began the first monasteries. From the monastery's cell schools that trained the priests, eventually, would come the clerics with a vision to build the first Catholic parochial schools of the region. They were followed by the itinerant clerics of the Orthodox faith who did the same thing as did the Muslim ulemas after them. Each confession built their own school system to teach and maintain the faithful. These

schools used the predominant, and sometimes multiple, languages of their faith. The Catholics used Latin and the vernacular of the people of the parish, the Orthodox either Greek or Old Church Slavonic with the vernacular and the Muslims a combination of Persian, Arabic, Turkish, and the vernacular. Simple addition reveals then that there were seven different languages in use at any one time for *religious affairs* by the people of the republics of ex-Yugoslavia.

And now religion is back in the BiH classroom. The first subject shown in the list of proposed subjects of the revised curriculum for Croatian and Bosniak high schools in the Federation for academic year 2000 is religion (refer back to Figure 15). The full title of the course is Culture of Religions. Religion was a subject in the secondary curriculum when secondary schools became common in the early 20th century. By 1936, each student was required to study two hours of religion every week in all four years of secondary school. The subject was eliminated during the post-World War Two adjustments of the education systems of Communist Yugoslavia. The teaching of religion was hidden in the mosques and churches of the region during the communist years, albeit not without some persecution. And now it is back.

The scope of the instruction intended for the Culture of Religions is to acquaint the student with the history and progress of religion in the region and, in no small part to "...contribute to tolerance and a stable peace."²⁴⁷ Significant in this course will be the influence of the Catholic Church and Islam (at least in the Federation). Undoubtedly the RS curriculum will contain religious instruction on the Orthodox faith - with little, if anything good said about the other two. Whether or not the syllabus within the Federation will address Orthodox Christianity or the Jewish faith (with a small presence in the Balkans) and the multitude of sects which abound in the world is unknown. But what can be reasonably projected is that the course will, despite the best of intentions of those promoting the course with a de-

sign to promote inter-ethnic group tolerance, transmogrify into a defense of the historical socio-political behavior and objectives of the ethno-linguistic group teaching the subject. In other words, in Croatian secondary schools the subject called Culture of Religions will be used as a platform to defend the actions of the Catholic Croats in the past and during the recent civil war, as well as a launch point for future maneuvers.

In the Bosniak schools the same will happen. Rather than explaining, in a neutral way, the force of religions in shaping the past, current, and future nature of the region, the course will defend the actions of Muslims in protecting their people and faith in the face of the aggression of Serbian Orthodox from the east and Croatian Catholics from the northwest. And assuredly the same thing will happen in the school systems of the RS.

It is only slightly ironic that the circle has come full about in Bosnia regarding religion. Enes Karić states it ever so simply. "Religion in our schools today frequently holds the place occupied by Marxism, precisely because instead of religious education they have introduced dogma and ritual."²⁴⁸ So rather than ameliorate conditions and reduce ethno-linguistic tensions in the future, the teaching of religion will continue to be an impediment to educational progress and social tolerance between the three principal factions of the state known as Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Control of the Schools

Bosnia is undergoing significant turbulence now regarding control over schools in the country. The anxiety and confusion which, quite naturally, emerges from this turbulence will inhibit, not promote, open communication within and without the educational systems. This is not new however. For the last several centuries control over schools has been a significant part of the history of the region. But the fracturing of the ex-Yugoslavian control

systems by the recent civil war required yet another realignment of power within the new Bosnian state. The new organization is a tiered system not entirely unlike the one prior.

For the Republic of Bosnia there is a state-level Minister of Education. This organ is to be responsible for "...foreign affairs, international communication and trades, information and justice."²⁴⁹ At the Federation level (for Bosniaks and Croats) the Minister of Education would be responsible specifically for education systems management. Operating beneath each of these state-level organs are the Canton Ministers of Education (see Appendix for a map of the Cantons of Bosnia). The next layer contains the municipalities. Mixed in between the municipality schools are the private schools, almost always confessional. How education will be controlled in the 21st century will be as problematic as language and religion.

Centralization of power at the highest level seems logical for a state as small as Bosnia. Certain economies are obvious with such centralization, especially limiting the bloating of redundant and superficial bureaucracies that are very expensive to maintain. Centralization also leads to a certain degree of consistency in policy formulation, transmission, and implementation. But given the historical tensions of language and religion, that have always inhibited cooperation among the competing factions of the region, and the power of Information Technology (IT) working its way into every facet of life in an ever smaller world (at least electronically), perhaps central control of schools is not the best solution for the people of Bosnia.

So What To Do?

Language

Language will remain the preeminent challenge for the near future. Today, the Army of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina prints its doctrinal manuals in two languages.

Some are prepared in Bosniak, while a smaller percentage is prepared in Croatian. Since a principal task of government is to provide for the common defense of the nation, doing so in two languages simply speaks more about the *inability* of the government to operate in an open and cooperative manner than it does about being able to do so.

The school systems teach in regional dialects, not a single, unifying language. The Serbs obviously learn in Serbian and the Bosniaks and Croats in their own dialects. Any future attempts at reducing inter ethno-linguistic tensions must address this issue. But which dialect should be used in order to provide a common voice for the people? None of them.

English should become the common language of this region. And it should for several reasons. First, English is expected to dominate world economies very soon. The American Prospect summarizes the direction the world is heading linguistically.

...thanks to new technologies (especially the World Wide Web), English will become the native language of the majority of the world by some time in the next century (2100). Indeed one linguist has suggested in all earnestness that the United Nations should simply declare English the official world language, but rename it Globalese, so as not to imply that it belongs to any one speech community anymore.²⁵⁰

Whether it's called Globalese (a sophomore sop to ultra-liberal non-judgementalists) or English, the trend is certainly there. And the trend is sustained, in large part, by the momentum of capitalism - or business. English is the language of international business. If Bosnians, whether Serb, Croat or Bosniak, want to deal in the international community of business, then they must learn English. But getting capitalists in Bosnia, interested in international business, to learn English is *not* the problem - the ordinary people are the problem. What will motivate them to learn English?

A way to achieve this goal, in a very complex place, is to build a phased plan to gradually replace the Balkan dialects used presently in government business with English. By 2100, the country should do all government business, including education business, in English. The business community needs no such plan. They will make the effort to grapple with English and make it a part of their own plans without any assistance from the government since they want to make money - and it will take English to do that. But the common people will have no motive to change their language preference unless there is some real demand that they do so. So, the government simply says that is January of 2100 all business, written and spoken, from city to republic level will be done in English. Those that will not change will not. Their English-speaking children will get it done for them. And that's the proper target - the children. The new generations of Bosnians, unwilling now to stay in Bosnia because opportunity lacks and entrenched power-brokers keep a steel grip on the meager opportunities that do arise, just might stay and try to build a future in their own country if they know they can compete in the international arena of business and keep a large part of their hard-earned money. They might do so because, among many other things, the tax system of their country would be open and visible to everyone - written in English.

And the education system of Bosnia is the vehicle to make that goal possible. The schools will certainly continue to offer education in any dialect the people of the region desire. There is no value in not teaching the local dialect. It is done now and will continue. But English would become a mandatory second language, probably in the fourth or fifth grade when the young mind is better able to learn it. There are few resource implications for such a move. The teachers who teach English now continue to do so. The most probable significant resource implication for such a maneuver is in the transition from whatever dialect prevails to printing of government documents in English. But the ever-increasing use of paperless files

and forms will reduce this cost. The web will make such a transition much easier, at least for future generations that are not afraid of IT.

Religion

Religion is a much tougher problem than language. Religion dominates the thinking and social relationships in Bosnia to a significant degree. The buildings occupied by the Croatian component of the Army of the Federation often have crucifixes on the wall, especially public auditoriums. The political parties of Bosnia feel significant influence registered by the clerics of the particular confession to which they are aligned. Political alignments with other nations are based, not insignificantly, upon mutual religious linkages. These forces work to achieve goals that might otherwise have little value to the common people but serve the purposes of the clerics to a significant degree. And it affects the education system too.

Teaching the subject "Culture of Religions" in *public, secondary* schools might appear, on the surface, to have admirable goals. A student who learns about other religions ostensibly to develop a sense of tolerance and cooperation with centuries old enemies might just develop such a new perspective. This is an admirable goal. But since these courses will, at least for the next several decades, turn into propaganda forums for the confessional defenders, perhaps this goal is more elusive than probable. Maybe this course is not the best way to achieve the intended goal. Perhaps this subject should be integrated into the history block of instruction as a topic. Such a maneuver will do two things.

Initially it will reduce the obvious importance of the subject of religion as an academic subject at the secondary school level. By the very subordination of the course within another, there will be less stress on the word religion. In a region, which has suffered so much due to the forces of religion, reinforcing those historical lessons may do more harm than good.

Secondly, teachers can stress the concept of separation of church and state. Teachers can stress how states have used methods, other than a specific appeal to a certain religious ethic, to achieve harmony and tolerance in the past and present. The best of these methods is teaching the primacy of the rule of law and not men. The CIVITAS program mentioned earlier is a good method of achieving this goal.

Control of Schools

Several conclusions from previous chapters of this work influence this part which discusses the future methods of control of the schools in Bosnia. These conclusions are:

- Control of schools, public and private, has always been local, even when the power of a communist centrally planned and ostensibly centrally administered education system was at work to overcome that local influence.

- The majority of post-secondary survey respondents felt that their parents had significant interest in their academic lives - even with the power of the state apparatus ostensibly at work to reduce, if not entirely negate, this influence.

- Distance learning, empowered by the internet, will grow *more influential* over the next century and *diminish*, to some degree the value of "going to a school" to learn. This power transfer from the government to the parents and student will have significant effect upon the balance of power to control schools.

Therefore, a future characterized by historically validated and continuing local control over schools, a significant cultural parental interest in their children's educational processes, and a growing ability for the average family to connect via IT to distant learning sites means a further *reduction* in the value of a centrally

managed and controlled education system. Once a student reaches the secondary level and makes an initial decision for a life direction, why should that student pay any attention to the directions of a centrally managed school system? What if the student can respond directly to a source of guidance about learning subjects coming from the business in which the student is interested?

Take, for example, that a young Bosnian wants to become a distributor of tractors and other heavy machinery. Why should he pay attention to what a centrally managed school system says to do when, with a flick of a modem and some internet chat, the student knows exactly what the International Organization of Tractor and Heavy Machinery Manufacturers (IOTHMM) expects him to know? The student studies those things, on his own time and at his own pace. The student will probably still have to "go to school" to get his hands on the tractors and heavy equipment in which he will invest his future. Simple economies of scale would drive this need to go to some central place to handle material things. But that hands-on school is not run by the state but by the IOTHMM.

There will certainly be a place for a centrally managed and run school system. There will be a need for a certain percentage of young people, with absolutely no idea what they want to be in life (at least as a secondary school age student), to attend a liberal arts secondary school in order to assist in that determining process. But over time, as the capability of the web allows ever-greater power to the parents and students at the expense of the central authorities the size and number of public secondary schools will surely diminish and control by parents and students rise.

Opportunity

In many ways the Bosnians have opportunities not available to other countries, with solidly entrenched educational bureaucracies in place, that would not be shaken up by anything

less than a civil war the likes of which the Bosnians just finished. The Bosnians can take on these opportunities in order to open the lines of communication, decrease inter-ethno-linguistic tensions and expand significantly the opportunity for her young people to make a difference in their own lives and the future of the country.

Make English the official language, push for greater emphasis on the rule of law (and separation of church and state), and capitalize on the significant advantages IT will offer to *empower parents and students* *-(not the state)* to build a future, not of despair and resignation, but filled with hope.

Appendix A. Matrix of Curriculum Hours for Selected Bosnian Schools, 1879-1999.

Subjects	1879 ¹ Mil Prep Sch					1880 ² Town Folk Sch					1936 ³ RealGymCursHrs					1936 ⁴ RealGymCursHrs					1953 ⁵ GymCursHrs					1959 ⁶ GymCursHrs					1999 ⁷ GymCursHrs					
	I	II	III	IV	Total	I	II	III	IV	Total	V	VI	VII	VIII	Total	V	VI	VII	VIII	Total	V	VI	VII	VIII	Total	V	VI	VII	VIII	Total	V	VI	VII	VIII	Total	
Religion	1	1	1	1	4	2	2	2	2	8	2	2	2	2	8	2	2	2	2	8					0					0					2	2
Serbo-Croatian	2	2	2	2	8	12	8	8	8	36	4	4	4	4	16	3	3	3	3	12	4	4	4	4	16	4	4	4	4	16	4	4	3	3	14	
For Language 1	5	6	6	6	23				2	2	4	3	3	3	12	3	3	3	3	12	3	3	3	3	12	3	4	4	5	16	3	3	3	3	12	
For Language 2		3	3	3	9					0		3	3	3	12					0																
Latin										0		4	4	3	14					0					2	2	2	2	8				3	3	4	
History	3		3		6					0		3	3	3	12	2	2	3	3	10	3	3	3	3	12	3	3	3	3	12	2	2			4	
Geography		3	3	3	9			2	2	4	2	2	2	2	8	2	2	1	2	7	3	2	2	2	9	3	2		2	7	2	2			4	
Natural History	2	2			4					0	2	3	2	7		2	3	3	8	2	2	2	6					0						10	10	
Physics			2	3	5					0			3	3	6			4	4	8		2	2	3	7	2	2	2	6	5	5			0		
Chemistry				2	2			2	2	4				2	2	3	2	2	7		2	2	2	6		2	2	2	4					0		
Hygiene										0		1	1	2		1	1	2						0					0					0		
Mathematics	3	3	3	3	12	4	4	4	4	16	3	3	4	4	14	4	4	4	5	17	4	3	4	3	14	4	3	2	2	11	4	4	3	3	14	
Geometry		3	3	3	9					0					0				2	8					0					0				0	0	
Writing	2	2	1	2	7		4	2	2	8					0					0									0					0	0	
Philosophy					0					0				2	2					0		2	2	4					0				3	3		
Sociology					0					0					0					0									0				2	2		
Biology					0					0					0					0						2	2	2	6					0	0	
Logic/Psychology					0					0					0					0								2	2			2	2		0	
Political Education					0					0					0					0						2	2	2	4			3	3		0	
General Technical Educ					0					0					0					0						1	1	2	2	6					0	
Art/Singing	2	2	2	2	8	2	4	4	4	14	2	1		3						2	2			0	2	1	1	2	6	2	2		4	8		
Drawing	3	3	3	3	12					0				0		2	2	1	1	6	2			2					0					0		
Information Science					0					0					0					0									0				3	3		
Physical Education	4	4	4	4	16	2	2	2	2	8	2	1	1	4		2	1		3	2	2	2	1	7	3	3	3	3	12	2	2	2	2	8		
Army Education					0					0				0						0		2	2	2	6		2	2	4					0	0	
Teacher's Class					0					0				0						0	1	1		2				0						0		
Hrs/Wk/Year	27	34	36	37	134	22	24	26	28	102	30	30	31	31	122	30	30	31	31	122	28	29	30	31	118	31	31	31	31	124	27	27	18	16	68	

Epistoles

1. Five Linje, p. 102.
2. Bosnian class numbering with American equivalent grade below.
3. School Learning Plan for Folk (boys) and Maiden Schools in Sarajevo, 1880. From: Sarajevo Federal Archives.
4. Vera Tomich, Education in Yugoslavia and the New Reform, p. 16.

Epistoles

5. Ibid, p. 17.
6. Prosvjetni List, 24/3, 1953.
7. Tomich, p. 72. This gimnazija curricula is for a social-science linguistic program.
8. Dobrinja Gimnazija recommended new HS curriculum with electives, April 99.
9. 5 hours spread across Physics, Chemistry and Biology.

Electives		Choose 1 3hr block	
Foreign Language	3	3	
Natural Sciences	3	3	
Mathematics	3	3	
Programming	3	3	
Social Science	3	3	
		11	13
		24	
		30	30
		29	29
		118	118

Appendix B: The Cantons of Bosnia and Hercegovina²⁵¹

The Cantons of Bosna i Hercegovina



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¹ Ivo Banac, "Bosnian Muslims: From Religious Community to Socialist Nationhood and Post-communist Statehood, 1918-1992," in Pinson, *The Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina*. 2nd Edition. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996: 133.

² Justin McCarthy, "Ottoman Bosnia, 1800-1878," in Pinson, *The Muslims of Bosnia...*: 58.

³ Georgina Mackenzie, *Travels in the Slavonic Provinces of Turkey-in-Europe* (London, Bell and Daldy, 1877): 15.

⁴ The total arable land in Bosnia is but 1,608,000 hectares, which includes all the farmland, gardens, orchards, vineyards, and pastures. These 1.6 million hectares equal roughly 4 million acres or the equivalent to about half the arable land in the State of New York. The "bread basket" of Bosnia is astride the Sava River, which forms the northern border with Croatia. There are other regions with agricultural focus but none of the size of this particular region.

⁵ Mehmed Filipović, *The Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina*. (Zagreb: Jugoslavenski Leksikografski Zavod, 1983): 71.

⁶ "The Hungarian Education System," Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (www.mfa.gov.hu., 1999): 1

⁷ Andros Riedlmayer, *A Brief History of Bosnia and Herzegovina* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1993): 1.

⁸ John Fine, "The Medieval and Ottoman Roots of Modern Bosnian Society," in Pinson, *The Muslims...*: 6.

⁹ Luka Markešić, in *Question of Survival*, ed. Branka Magaš, (London, The Bosnia Institute, 1998): 17.

¹⁰ Filipović, *Socialist Republic*: 124-125.

¹¹ Ibid: 236.

¹² Personal conversation with Monsignor Mato Zovkić, Sarajevo Archdiocese, June 1999.

¹³ Salko Špago, "Primary Education in Mostar (1878-1918)," *Herzegovina: Magazine for Cultural and Historical Heritage* (1997): 169.

¹⁴ McCarthy, "Ottoman Bosnia," in Pinson, *The Muslims...*: 76.

¹⁵ Miljenko Brkić, in *Question of Survival*: 2. Dizdar, in "Development..." 2. cites the same number of schools and students with the Catholic centers in Fojnica, Kreševo, Travnik, Livno and Varcar. Špago, in "Primary Development...", 165-170., cites 5 Catholic schools in southern Bosnia with 230 students.

¹⁶ Srebren Dizdar, *Report on Higher Education* (Sarajevo, 1996): 25.

¹⁷ Špago, "Primary Education...",: 166-7.

¹⁸ Dusan Bataković, *The Balkan Piedmont, Serbia and the Yugoslav Question* (Institute for Balkan Studies, 1997): 16.

¹⁹ Arthur Liolin, "The Nature of Faith in Albania," in *The History of Serbian Culture*, 31, (45): 3.

²⁰ Sabrina Ramet, *Nihil Obstat* (Durham, Duke University Press, 1977): 203, 212.

²¹ John Fine, *The Early Medieval Balkans* (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1983): 127-128. Fine refers to the younger brother as Constantine instead of St. Cyril. Apparently Constantine took the name St. Cyril during his trip to Rome in 869 but then died in Rome shortly thereafter.

²² The debate over just who first used vernacular in preaching to the common people is a robust one. There are those who say the Catholics led the way, others say it was the Orthodox, still others the Muslims. But I think the Jews are probably the titleholders here. They have been using the "vernacular" for over 3,000 years.

²³ Fine, *The Early Medieval Balkans*: 220.

²⁴ Ibid: 118.

²⁵ Ibid: 436.

²⁶ Ibid: 446.

²⁷ John Gergeoff, "The Role of Education in the Bulgarian Awakening," in *East/West Education* 13, (Spring 1992): 58.

²⁸ T. Butler, "The Origins of the War for a Serbian Language and Orthography," *Harvard Slavic Studies* 5, (1970): 22.

²⁹ Filipović, *Socialist Republic*: 125.

³⁰ Ramet, *Obstat*: 204.

³¹ Peter Sugar, *Southeastern Europe Under Ottoman Rule, 1354-1804* (Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1977): 255.

³² Ibid: 264.

³³ Steven Sowards, "The Serbian Revolution and the Serbian State," *Twenty-Five Lectures on Modern Balkan History*, (24 May 1996): 2.

³⁴ Butler, *Origins*: 13.

³⁵ Mackenzie, *Travels*: 271.

³⁶ Ibid: 50-51. Hilferding, a Russian Consul, was also a commentator on education development in Sarajevo at this time.

³⁷ Dizdar, *A Development and Perspectives of Teacher Education in Bosnia and Herzegovina* (Sarajevo, 1998): 2-3.

³⁸ Brkić, *Survival*: 2. Dizdar, in *Development...*, 2. cites the same numbers and seven primary locations for these schools: Sarajevo, Tuzla, Livno, Tešanj, Brčko, Travnik and Bijelina, Špago, in "Primary Education...": 165-170., cites that the Orthodox Christians had built 13 Serbian schools in southern Bosnia with 595 students.

³⁹ Sugar, *Southeastern Europe*: 7.

⁴⁰ This ranking phenomenon persists today in Bosnian schools. For example, the "best" high schools in Bosnia are called *gimnazija*. There are four *gimnazija* in Sarajevo, ranked First *Gimnazija* through Fourth *Gimnazija*.

⁴¹ Sugar, *Southeastern Europe*: 40.

⁴² Riedlmayer, *Brief History*: 2.

⁴³ Charles Ingrao, "Ten Untaught Lessons About Central Europe," in *H-Net, Humanities OnLine* (www, 1996): 5.

⁴⁴ Filipović, *Socialist Republic*: 233.

⁴⁵ Sugar, *Southeastern Europe*: 40.

⁴⁶ Dizdar, *A Development...*: 2.

⁴⁷ Špago, *Primary Education*: 165-170. Dizdar, in *Development...* cites the date for the establishment of the first public school as five years earlier in 1864. The architect was apparently the then current Governor (vali) Topal Osman Pašha.

⁴⁸ Dizdar, *A Development*: 2. Brkić, in "A Question": 2., cites only 720 sybian mektebs with but 11,205 students, 8,598 boys and 2,607 girls. Perhaps Dizdar's numbers include regions beyond Bosnia and Herzegovina.

⁴⁹ Špago, *Primary Education*: 165-170

⁵⁰ Mackenzie, *Travels*: 1.

⁵¹ Steven Sowards, "Twenty Five Lectures on Modern Balkan History," in *The Balkans in the Age of Nationalism*, (3 November 1998): 7.

⁵² Filipović, *Socialist Republic*: 84.

⁵³ Personal conversation with Monsignor Mato Zovkić, Diocese of Sarajevo, June 1999

⁵⁴ Joseph Slowinski, "The Politics of Language and Education: Past and Present in Yugoslavia," in *International Education - ej*. (December 1998): 5.

⁵⁵ Butler, "The Origins..." 33-34.

⁵⁶ Roumen Daskalov, "Ideas about and Reactions to modernization in the Balkans," *East European Quarterly* 31 (Summer 1997): 4.

⁵⁷ Charles and Barbara Jelavich, *The Establishment of the Balkan National States, 1804-1920* (Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1977): 109.

⁵⁸ Ibid. 121.

⁵⁹ "Cultus und Unterricht", *AH Education Policy*. (Sarajevo Archives, 1889) 322-4. The Austrian spelling of these school names is used here since the primary source from which they were taken was written in German. The Ottoman name is probably confined to the first part, i.e. without the German suffix *schulen*.

⁶⁰ Ibid. 285. There is no attempt to discuss anything here about the schools dedicated to arts and crafts.

⁶¹ This diagram's organization follows the model developed by Vera Tomich.

⁶² "Cultus und Unterricht": 285-287.

⁶³ Ibid. 288-290.

⁶⁴ It is interesting that at this point in the writing about school structure, the German words used to describe schools based on the Muslim faith change. When describing the elementary and *ruždieschulen* the word used was either *moslemi-tischen* and *nichtmoslemischen* (non-Moslem). However, when describing the next level of school (the *Adadienschulen*), the words used are *mohammedannischen* and *nichtmohammedannischen* (non-Mohammedins). Why this occurs is unknown.

⁶⁵ Ibid. 290.

⁶⁶ Ibid. 291-2.

⁶⁷ Ibid. 292-4.

⁶⁸ Ibid. 296-300.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid. 300.

⁷¹ Riedlmayer, *A Brief History...*: 2.

⁷² Filipović, *Socialist Republic*: 84.

⁷³ Chuck Sudetić, "Five Generations of Guilt, Shame and Honor," (1998): 2.

⁷⁴ Miljenko Brkić, in *Question of Survival*: 2. Brkić says there were 56 Orthodox schools open when the AH arrived, teaching about 3,000 boys

and 700 girls. Dizdar, in *A Development...*: 2. cites the same numbers and seven primary locations for these schools: Sarajevo, Tuzla, Livno, Tešanj, Brčko, Travnik and Bijelina. Špago, in "Primary Education in Mostar...": 165-170., cites that the Orthodox Christians had built 13 Serbian schools in southern Bosnia with 595 students

⁷⁵ McCarthy, "Ottoman Bosnia...": 66-67.

⁷⁶ Dizdar, *A Development...*: 4

⁷⁷ Sandor Biro, *The Nationalities Problem in Transylvania 1867-1940*. Bela K. Kiraly, ed., (Atlantic Research and Publications, Inc. 1991). <www.hungary.com/corvinus/biro>: 194-4.

⁷⁸ Rados Ljusić, *The Centuries Under Turkish Rule and the Revival of Statehood*, (www, Por-thill Publishers, 1998): 5-6.

⁷⁹ Jelavich, *Balkan National States*: 110. Given the nature of the subjects taught in the Sultanien-schulen, it seems some level of expertise would grow. The students certainly studied the right subjects to do so. The forces working against this growth were obviously too strong:

⁸⁰ Mark Pinson, "The Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina Under Austro-Hungarian Rule, 1878-1918," *The Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1996): 108.

⁸¹ Roumen Daskalov, "Ideas About and Reactions to Modernization in the Balkans," *East European Quarterly*, 31 (Summer 1997): 5.

⁸² Peter Nagy, "Tendencies in Educational Policy: 1848-1918," (Budapest, Magyar Elektronikus Konyvtar, 1991): 5.

⁸³ Filipović, *Socialist Republic*: 29

⁸⁴ Ibid. 33.

⁸⁵ "Religion and Social Conditions," *A Short History of Austro-Hungary*. (Budapest, Magyar Elektronikus Konyvtar, 1998): Chapter 23-2.

⁸⁶ George Mosse, "Central European Intellectuals in Palestine," *Judaism*., 45 (Spring 1996): 4.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Mark Smith, "Social Pedagogy," *The Informal Education Home Page* (July 1999): 1-2.

⁸⁹ "How the First High School in BiH Was Opened Under Austro-Hungarian Occupation," *Prosvjetni List*, 31 (1953): 4.

⁹⁰ Jelavich, *Balkan National States*: 187-8.

⁹¹ Filipović, *Socialist Republic*: 8.

⁹² Ibid. 88-9.

⁹³ Dusan Bataković, "The Balkan Piedmont, Serbia and the Yugoslav Question," *Institute for Balkan Studies* (1997): 15.

⁹⁴ Filipović, *Socialist Republic*: 90.

⁹⁵ Noel Malcolm, *Bosnia - A Short History*, (New York, New York University Press, 1994):144.

⁹⁶ Robert Donia, "Mostar: Epicenter of Bosnian Student Movements on the Eve of World War I," in *Herzegovina: Časopis za Kulturno historijsko naslijeđe* (Mostar, 1997): 268-9.

⁹⁷ Ibid. 269.

⁹⁸ Dizdar, *A Development...*: 4

⁹⁹ Donia, *Mostar*.: 269.

¹⁰⁰ Špago, "Primary Education in Mostar...": 170.

¹⁰¹ Clive Harber, "International Developments and the Rise of Education for Democracy," *Compare*, 27 (1 June 1997): 2.

¹⁰² Robert Kerner, *Social Sciences in the Balkans and in Turkey*. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1930): 66-7.

¹⁰³ Mehrad Kia, "Pan-Islamism in Late Nineteenth-century Iran," *Middle Eastern Studies* 32 (January 1996):12-13.

¹⁰⁴ "The School of Staka Skenderova," *Prosvjetni List*, 20: 4

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Filipović, *Socialist Republic*: 84. Dizdar cites 331 public elementary schools operating at this time. Malcom cites only 200.

¹⁰⁸ Dizdar, *A Development*. 4.

¹⁰⁹ Donia, *Mostar*.: 270.

¹¹⁰ "Our Education System Between Two Congresses," *Prosvjetni List*, 6:1

¹¹¹ "Student Who is Absent from School on a Religious Holiday Breaks the School Regulation," *Prosvjetni List*, 6: 4.

¹¹² Felisa Tibbits, "Education for Citizenship," *Education Week* 15 (24 January 1996): 2.

¹¹³ "Student Who is Absent...," *Prosvjetni List*, 6 (1952): 4.

¹¹⁴ Dizdar, *A Development...*: 99-100.

¹¹⁵ Mina Kujović, "From the Protocol of 'Pedagogical Week,' Held in Mostar from 7 to 14 March 1945." *Herzegovina - Magazine for Cultural and Historical Heritage*, (Mostar, 1997): 243.

¹¹⁶ Filipović, *Socialist Republic*: 39.

¹¹⁷ Trade Compass, *Yugoslavia Army Area Handbook*, <www.tradecompass.com/library>: 1. A 1958 law mandated this shift to an eight-year

elementary school and made education compulsory for all children aged seven to fifteen.

¹¹⁸ "A Wide Discussion Was Held in Sarajevo About the Way of Realization of Obligatory Eight-year Schooling," *Prosvjetni List*, 21: 2.

¹¹⁹ Roy Heath, "Education," in Stephen Fischer-Galati, ed. *Eastern Europe in the 80s*, (Boulder, Westview Press, 1981): 237. The "higher" schools shown in the figure for 1938-39 education structure are sometimes compared to U.S. community colleges, with a focus on vocational and technical programs.

¹²⁰ Filipović, *Socialist Republic*: 111. Some sources say it opened in 1946.

¹²¹ Sabrina Ramet, *Eastern Europe: Politics, Culture, and Society Since 1939*. (Indiana University Press, 1998): 310.

¹²² Rahmatullah Turkestani, "The Muslim Predicament in the Balkans: Tito's Legacy," *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 17 (October 1997) 325.

¹²³ Ramet, *Obstat*, 17.

¹²⁴ Roy Heath, "Education," in Galati, *Eastern Europe*: 225.

¹²⁵ Ramet, *Obstat*...: 17.

¹²⁶ Ibid. 162.

¹²⁷ Heath, "Education," in *Eastern Europe*: 228.

¹²⁸ Ibid. 226.

¹²⁹ Vera Tomich, *Education in Yugoslavia and the New Reform*, (U.S. GPO. 1968): 53-54. Memorization and drills are the correct pedagogical approach in primary schools. But by the secondary level the students must apply the facts and processes learned in the analytical, compare/contrast, and judgmental levels of learning. It is dangerous for socialists to allow too much independent thinking to happen. Rebels arise from it. On 22 May 2000, Slobodon Milosevic ordered the Serbian universities closed because the students were protesting too loudly against the corruption of his administration.

¹³⁰ Ibid. 81.

¹³¹ Rhys Gwynn and P. Slavona, "European Union Aid to the Universities of Central and Eastern Europe: Funding Push and Needs Pull," *Higher Education in Europe*, v21/2-3, 1996: 14.

¹³² Michel Rakotomanana, "Initiating a Program in Educational Policy and Planning in a Nation in Crisis: The Case of Bosnia-Herzegovina," *Paper presented at the 40th Annual Meeting of the Com-*

parative and International Education Society, 1997: 12.

¹³³ World Bank Report, "Improving Education and Reforming Education Systems in Central and Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union," May 1999: 1,3.

¹³⁴ Heath, "Education," in *Eastern Europe*: 230.

¹³⁵ OECD, *Reviews of National Policies for Education: Yugoslavia*, Paris 1981: 91.

¹³⁶ Slowinski, "The Politics of Language...": 3.

¹³⁷ Dizdar, *A Development...* 12. The new constitution of Yugoslavia, promulgated in 1974 virtually assured the republics of the country that they were "...independent states." They apparently "...opted for a complete network of secondary schools and full diversification of higher education." While Dizdar's statements are true, the 1974 Constitution only reflected the truth that had already existed for centuries.

¹³⁸ Barbara Kehm, "Evaluating the TEMPUS Programme: Successes and Problems of Higher Education Development in Central and Eastern Europe," *Higher Education in Europe*, v21/n3, 1996: 44.

¹³⁹ Miloslav Djilas *The New Class: An Analysis of the Communist System*, (New York, Harcourt Brace), 1957: 77.

¹⁴⁰ Filipović, *Socialist Republic*: 117-8.

¹⁴¹ Ramet, *Nihil Obstat*...: 46.

¹⁴² Turkestani, *Muslim Predicament*: 5-6.

¹⁴³ Ramet, *Nihil Obstat*: 165. Gordana Igric says that Milosevic promised the clerics a return to religious instruction but then reneged. "In Serbia, Tragedy Without Catharsis," 3.

¹⁴⁴ Paula Lytle, "Religion and Politics in eastern Europe," in Ramet, *1939*: 320.

¹⁴⁵ Robert Kerner, *Social Sciences in the Balkan and Turkey*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1930): 18.

¹⁴⁶ Filipović, *Socialist Republic*: 111. These latter three were established when final control of higher education was relinquished to the cantons via the Constitution of 1974.

¹⁴⁷ Turkestani, *Muslim Predicament*: 3.

¹⁴⁸ Dizdar, *A Report*...: 23-25. Dizdar also mentions the formation of a Faculty of Agriculture and Forestry in Sarajevo in 1940 with teachers assigned there from the same Faculty at the University of Belgrade.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid. 23.

¹⁵⁰ OECD, *Reviews*: 85-86.

- ¹⁵¹ Filipović, *Socialist Republic*: 228.
- ¹⁵² Ibid.
- ¹⁵³ J. Popov, "Learning Universities," *Education in Russia: The Independent States* 16, (1998): 4.
- ¹⁵⁴ Dizdar, *A Development...*: 13-14.
- ¹⁵⁵ OECD, *Reviews*: 83-84.
- ¹⁵⁶ Heath, "Education," in *Eastern Europe*: 242.
- ¹⁵⁷ "In Banja Luka the Male and Female High-Schools Turned Into Coeducational Ones," *Prosvjetni List*, 43: 3.
- ¹⁵⁸ Trade Compass, *Area Handbook for Yugoslavia*, Chapter 5.05:1
- ¹⁵⁹ Zijad Šehić, "Preparatory Military Schools in Sarajevo in the Ottoman (1873-1878) and Austro-Hungarian (1879-1914) Epoch," *Prva Linija*, September 1999: 101. The dates for the Ottoman Epoch are not right. Maybe he meant the actual years the Turkish school was in operation in Sarajevo.
- ¹⁶⁰ Ibid. 101.
- ¹⁶¹ Ibid.
- ¹⁶² Ibid. 102.
- ¹⁶³ Ibid.
- ¹⁶⁴ *Area Handbook*, Chapter 5.02: 3.
- ¹⁶⁵ *Area Handbook*, Chapter 5.05: 4.
- ¹⁶⁶ The NCO in the JNA was not the same as an NCO in a western model army. Even though trained in specialty skills, NCOs in ex-communist armies never had the authority and responsibility of their peers to the west. The implications of this systemic fault will be discussed in detail later in this chapter.
- ¹⁶⁷ Miodrag Žhivković, *Military Profession - Military Education*, (Belgrade, Poslovna Politika, 1985): 126.
- ¹⁶⁸ Ibid.
- ¹⁶⁹ Ibid.
- ¹⁷⁰ *Area Handbook*, Chap 5.04: 7.
- ¹⁷¹ Žhivković, *Military Education...*: 127
- ¹⁷² *Area Handbook*, Chap 5.04: 4-6.
- ¹⁷³ Kaserne means barracks or camp.
- ¹⁷⁴ Žhivković, *Military Education...*: 128.
- ¹⁷⁵ *Area Handbook*, Chap. 5.05: 5-6.
- ¹⁷⁶ Discussion of grade levels here uses the American system of continuous numbering of grades 1-12, translated from the ex-Yugoslavian system, which restarted this numbering system with each level - elementary, middle, or high school. From here on elementary school is grades 1-8 and high school 9-12. Also this description uses the five-letter American grading system A-F instead of the Yugoslavian numerical system of 5-1 (5 being an A, etc.).
- ¹⁷⁷ Žhivković, *Military Education...*, 129.
- ¹⁷⁸ Ibid. 130.
- ¹⁷⁹ Ibid. 131.
- ¹⁸⁰ Ibid.
- ¹⁸¹ Ibid. 132.
- ¹⁸² In the JNA, the Air Force and the units comprising the Air Defense assets of the military were under a single command. This is not so in the American military where almost all Air Defense assets are in the Army, not in the Air Force, even though such an arrangement makes an immense amount of sense.
- ¹⁸³ *Area Handbook*: Chap. 5.04: 5.
- ¹⁸⁴ Ibid. 6
- ¹⁸⁵ Žhivković, *Military Education...*: 137-8.
- ¹⁸⁶ *Area Handbook*: Chap: 5.04:7.
- ¹⁸⁷ Žhivković, *Military Education...*: 138.
- ¹⁸⁸ Interview with Army Captain Enes Hajić, ex-JNA officer now serving in the Army of the Federation of BiH, 28 Oct 99 at the Federation Army Center for Professional Development.
- ¹⁸⁹ *Area Handbook*: Chap.5.05: 6.
- ¹⁹⁰ Žhivković, *Military Education...*: 154.
- ¹⁹¹ Ibid. 155.
- ¹⁹² Ibid. 156-7.
- ¹⁹³ Ibid. 157.
- ¹⁹⁴ Ibid. 158-162.
- ¹⁹⁵ Ibid. 163.
- ¹⁹⁶ Ibid. 164-5.
- ¹⁹⁷ Ibid. 165. In most western military forces, aircraft are not centrally controlled, especially for close air support missions, i.e. missions flown in support of ground force operations. These type missions are not centrally controlled, as in the Soviet model, but are dispatched to the battlefield where local control is gained by a pilot in a slow moving aircraft who can talk to the ground force requiring the attack aircraft and also see the targets. This local control pilot is called a forward air controller, or FAC.
- ¹⁹⁸ Ibid. 166. It is interesting that throughout the official Yugoslavian government publication from which these descriptions come, it is only here, discussing the Navy, that the text describes service as "very attractive." Why similar descriptions were not used for Air Force pilots is not known but also unusual. Everyone knows the Army is not "attractive."
- ¹⁹⁹ Ibid. 166-8.

²⁰⁰ Ibid. 169.

²⁰¹ Ibid. 170.

²⁰² Ibid. 170-1.

²⁰³ Ibid. 172. The potential for assignment as an instructor in military schools is only mentioned here. In no other place does this official text mention assignment as an instructor for graduates of another Command and Staff School, be it for tactics or operations.

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

²⁰⁵ Ibid. 173. These officers were probably the core of Party's military component of the Appatchik.

²⁰⁶ Why the JNA would cite this particular component of the human body for visibility in a text concerning their army is unknown and also very unusual.

²⁰⁷ An equivalent example in the American system is called the National Defense University.

²⁰⁸ Most advanced militaries also invite a few civilians to attend their higher level colleges.

²⁰⁹ Žihković, *Military Education...*, 174.

²¹⁰ *Area Handbook*: Chap. 5.05: 6.

²¹¹ Žihković, *Military Education...*, 177.

²¹² Ibid. 177-8.

²¹³ Ibid. 179.

²¹⁴ Ibid. 180.

²¹⁵ *Area Handbook*, Chap 5.02: 4.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ *Area Handbook*, Chap 5.04: 2.

²¹⁸ For purposes here, the soldiers who are generally aligned with the Muslims of Bosnia are referred to as Bosniaks. Croats who live in Bosnia, regardless of their birthplace, are referred to as Bosnian Croats. These designations are neither uniform nor all-inclusive - there are many exceptions. It is all we have for now.

²¹⁹ Officer ranks in the AoF are roughly comparable to the U.S. Army. There are lieutenants (2nd Lieutenants), senior lieutenants (1st Lieutenants), captains (same), majors (same), lieutenant colonels (same), brigadiers (colonels), and then the general officers.

²²⁰ All of these observations based on my personal observations, conversations and work with the leadership and instructors at the FACPD, 1998-9

²²¹ The Bosnian CTC is modeled, essentially, on the training centers built by the U.S. Army at Fort Irwin and Fort Polk.

²²² In late 1999 (or early 2001) the Government of Bosnia, through its Ministry of Defense passed legislation which forced soldiers over 50 years of age out of the Army. This move was apparently very secret and supposedly came as a complete surprise to many, if not almost all, of the soldiers of the army. Once announced however, the scrambling began to elicit favors and exceptions to this new policy. The army should come out much for the better after this first very necessary, but also harsh, personnel adjustment of the new millenium.

²²³ Statement by the Office of the High Representative of the Office of Security and Cooperation in Europe, 29 November 1999.

²²⁴ *Does Sarajevo Need 11 Gimnazija?*, Dani, 16 July 1999. 34.

²²⁵ A Canton is similar to a U.S. county. There are 10 Cantons in Bosnia. These cantons represent about 1/2 of Bosnia (i.e. the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina - Bosniak and Bosnian Croatian areas of occupation). The remaining 1/2 of Bosnia is the Republika Serpska that is not included in this analysis. See the map in the appendix.

²²⁶ Dani, 16 July 1999.

²²⁷ *Obligatory Instruction, Elective Instruction and Free Activities in the Reformed Gimnazija*, Prosvjetni List, 94/1, 1957.

²²⁸ Vera Tomich, *Education in Yugoslavia and the New Reform*, USGPO, 1968. 73.

²²⁹ Ibid. 69-70.

²³⁰ Ibid.

²³¹ Srebren Dizdar, *A Development and Perspectives of Teacher Education in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, Sarajevo, 1998. 85.

²³² Minister of Education-Sarajevo Canton, *Suggestion of Teaching Plan for High School*, April 1999. 5.

²³³ Ibid.

²³⁴ This deduction stems from my raising three children and being active six years in education with middle school students in private and public education systems.

²³⁵ The comment about the teacher's speaking in student dialects did not translate properly in this survey version so results are not shown here.

²³⁶ I could not control whether this recollection, and the others above, was influenced by their need to convey a positive picture of their life in the previous system to me, a foreigner. But, my

research in other sources says that while the resources of four decades ago might not have been great, they were generally suitable

²³⁷ The faculty at Dobrinja Gimnazija were the only faculty to participate in the university education portion of this survey process. The Economics High School faculty did not partake in this part due to an administrative error in distribution of the survey.

²³⁸ Respondents had space in the survey to write about the survey and their perceptions. Those written comments are normally grouped after the comment to which they were responding (as shown). Respondent comments are single-spaced in italics. Some of these comments were written after the faculty and students reviewed the first draft of my findings. That is why there are comments that follow that are critical of what the student's teachers said in their responses.

²³⁹ This is an unusual statement for this student to make. It is the norm, not the exception, that children in Bosnia stay many years dependent upon their parents, especially for shelter. Families, for example, will build new levels onto their houses into which their children will move their own families.

²⁴⁰ I suspect, but cannot confirm, that the eighth grade school-leaving exam simply was removed and reinstalled by the education system leadership as a *ninth grade school-entering exam*. This may have been intentional on their part to continue to have a device to cull the less than desirables from attending gimnazija.

²⁴¹ Not all numbers always round to exactly 100% due to rounding functions in the base data.

²⁴² Discussion with recent high school and college graduates, April 1999.

²⁴³ The survey did not control for the fact that Kajalingua respondents could also be attending either of the two high schools surveyed.

²⁴⁴ The percentages used here are not always equal to 100 percent. The computer often rounded above 100 percent and when combined with aggregates of percentages the results produced some totals less and some more than 100 percent.

²⁴⁵ "Is Dayton Failing?: Bosnia Four Years After the Peace Agreement," International Crisis Group Balkans Report No.80, Sarajevo, 28 October 1999: 48.

²⁴⁶ I did not learn about this linguistic twist until after I had completed the surveys.

²⁴⁷ Kasim Begić in *A Question of Survival, A Common Education System for Bosnia-Herzegovina*, London: The Bosnian Institute, 1998: 15-16

²⁴⁸ Ibid. (Enes Karić), 9

²⁴⁹ Michel Rakotomanana and John L. Yeager "Initiating a Program of Educational Policy and Planning in a Nation in Crisis: The Case of Bosnia-Herzegovina" Paper presented at the 40th Annual Meeting of the Comparative and International Education Society, March 1997: 10.

²⁵⁰ Geoffrey Nunberg, "Will the Internet Always Speak English?" *The American Prospect*, 11 (March 27-10 April 2000): 40.

²⁵¹ Dizdar, Srebren. "A Development and Perspectives of Teacher Development in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1998.

Biography for Richard Douglas McCreight

Doug McCreight served 22 years as a US Army Infantry officer in mechanized, Ranger, airborne and special operations units. In his Army life he has worked on every continent (except Africa) and with people from all cultures and philosophies of the world.

He has degrees as a Master of Military Arts and Science, a Master of Arts in Teaching with a Concentration in European History and Ph.D. in Balkan Education Systems. This book stems from his work in Bosna i Hercegovina for over three years -- living and studying the people and systems described within.

He now works as a consultant in Fayetteville, North Carolina, with a principal focus on Consequence Management of Weapons of Mass Destruction and Training Simulations.



About This Book

Education in Bosnia investigates the forces shaping the development of education systems in Bosnia and the impact those historical forces may, or may not, have on the condition of current secondary education in Bosnia today. The initial chapters lay the historical groundwork of educational development in the Balkans in general and Bosnia specifically. The accumulative effect of the previous centuries is then captured in a survey of the faculty and students in Sarajevo city secondary schools. The survey is driven by several hypotheses whose origins are imbedded in the historical evidence. The work concludes with thoughts and recommendations about the future development of education in Bosnia, and, again to some degree, the sister nations in Europe.

It is the first book to examine the development of education in Bosnia as a system. It focuses on the impact of language, religion and control mechanisms on the education process of the region. The book outlines the historical forces shaping Bosnia education with particular attention to the Austro-Hungarian and Communist periods. It also examines in detail the development of the military systems of the country. The current state of secondary education is surveyed and analyzed to provide the reader a view of the education system today.

Education in Bosnia is unique as a new look at a subject not often considered for its considerable impact on Bosnian society development. The work also is applicable to understanding the other countries of the Balkans – Rumania, Serbia, Croatia, Bulgaria.

This book is a must for anyone seeking to better understand the complex issues of the region.

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